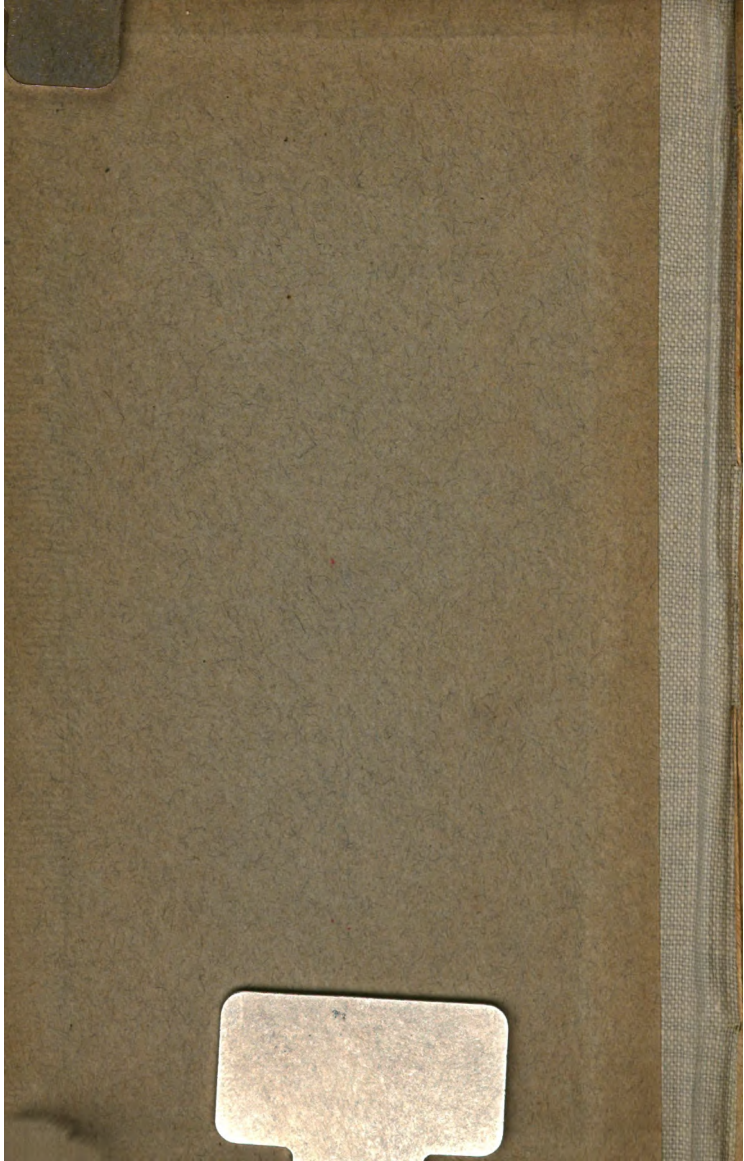


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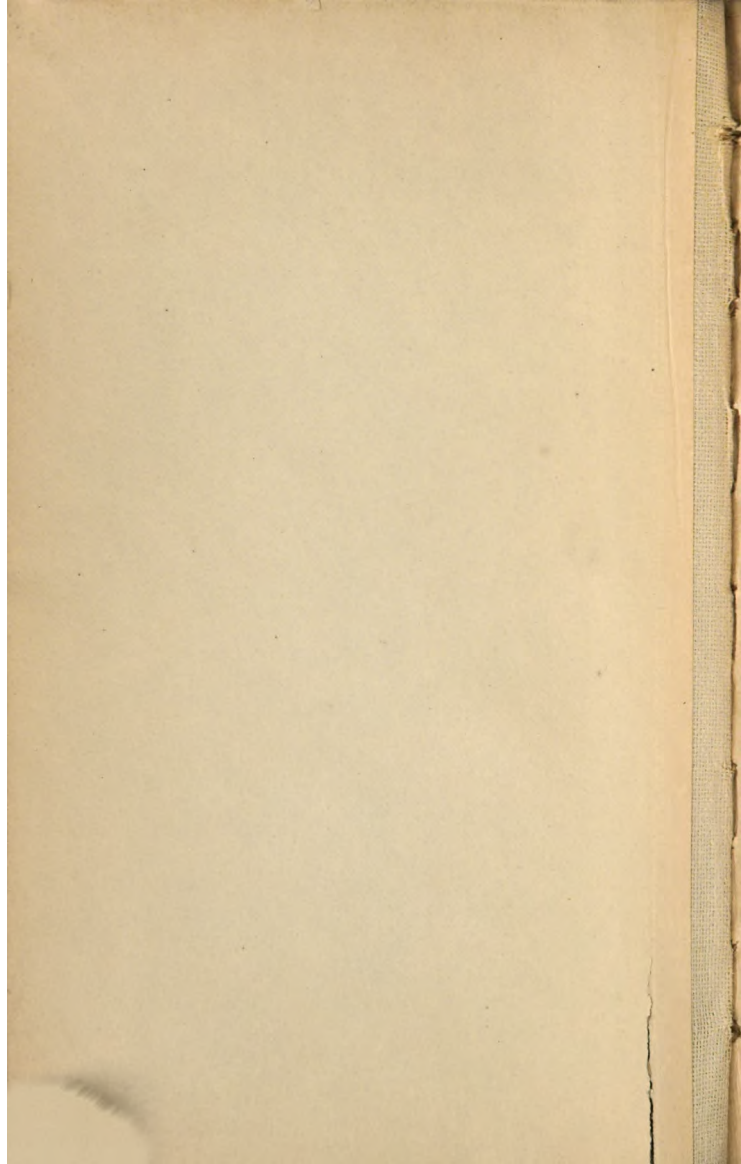


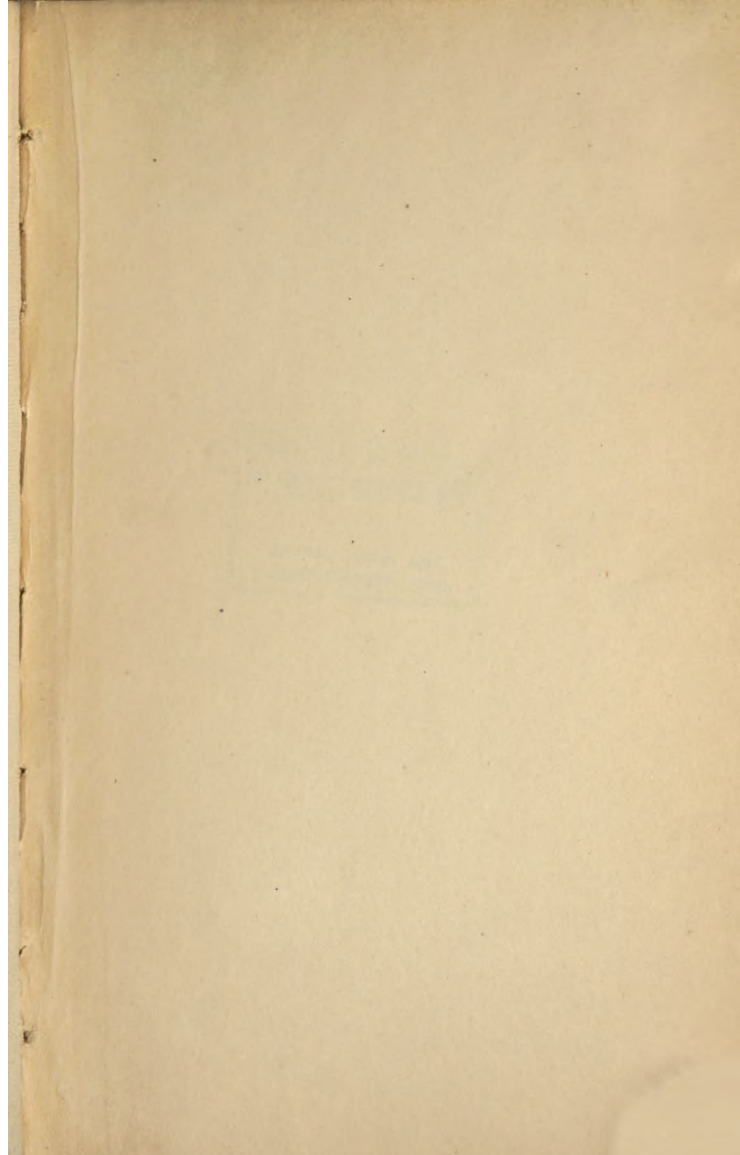
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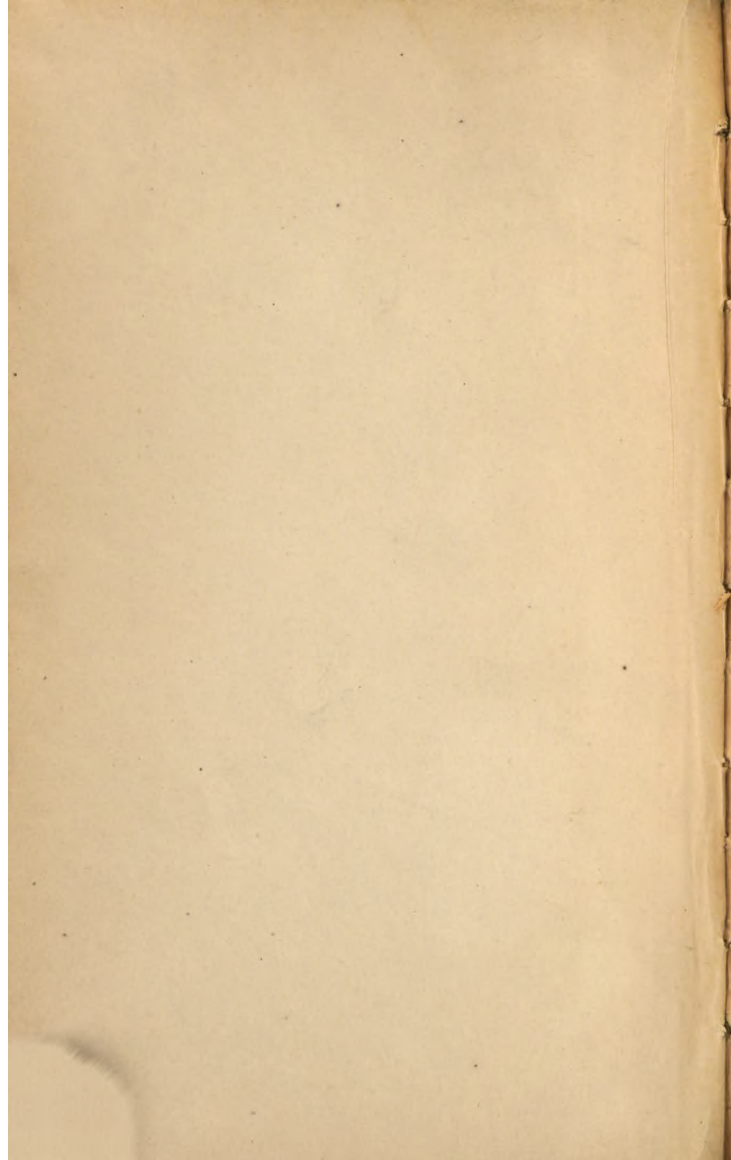


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A
VOICE
FROM
NORTH AFRICA;

OR, A NARRATIVE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS, AND MANNERS, OF
THE INHABITANTS OF THAT PART OF THE WORLD :

WITH AN
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX.

BY NATHAN DAVIS,
NEARLY FOUR YEARS RESIDENT IN NORTH AFRICA.

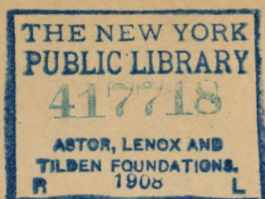
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TO
DR. SAMUEL DAVID HEAP,
CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
&c., &c., &c.,
NEAR HIS HIGHNESS
MUSHEER AHMED BASHA BEY,
OF THE REGENCY OF TUNIS,
THESE PAGES
ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
AS AN EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP, REGARD, AND ESTEEM,
BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

19

THE NAME OF DAVID WEST

REMEMBER AND REMEMBER

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD

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PREFACE.

THE chief object which the author has in view in sending forth the following pages, is to interest the Christian world in a country which has for centuries been entirely neglected. It is hardly necessary to tell the reader, that Christianity had once its stronghold in North Africa. We are informed that there were at one time no less than six hundred Episcopal sees in that country! And the names of Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Augustin, African prelates, are familiar to all those who have read the history of the Christian Church.

No sooner did Mohammedanism get a firm footing in Africa than Christianity lost ground, and soon after was entirely annihilated. Not a vestige of a Christian Church is to be found there, though there are still some remains of the ruins of heathen temples. Millions of our fellow-creatures, inhabiting the Northern shores of Africa, are perishing for lack of knowledge, and there is no one caring for their souls. Not

a single missionary is to be found in Barbary, either to the hundreds of thousands of Jews, or to the millions of Mohammedans. "The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews" had a mission there for several years, (a short account of which will be found in these pages;) but at present that most important field of labour is entirely abandoned. The notion that it is an impossibility to preach the Gospel to the Mohammedans will be found, on perusing this work, to be quite unfounded.

The blessings which are likely to result from a *proper* mission being established in Barbary are very great. The inhabitants of the interior of Africa, who have as yet not even heard of the Gospel, which we are commanded by our Divine Master to proclaim to the ends of the world, can be visited either from Tunis, Tripoli, or Bengazi. There are ways and means to do this. Sir Thomas Reade at Tunis, Colonel Warrington at Tripoli, and his son-in-law at Bengazi, would, I am certain, give their utmost support to such a missionary enterprise.

Besides investigating the documents upon which a religion is, or pretends to be, founded, I think a fair way to judge of its nature is to see what effect it has upon the character of those who *strictly* adhere to its precepts. From the wanderings and adventures of Abdallah,

and from the account of the people amongst whom he now resides, the reader will have ample opportunity to form a fair estimate. To read the Koran through, and study other works on Mohammedan theology, in order to obtain a knowledge of that religion, (which, if we consider that it has at this day nearly 150,000,000 of professors, it is so necessary to possess,) is more than can be required of any one. I never met with a person yet who had the patience to read the whole Koran through in a translation. In this work, however, the principal doctrines of the Arabian impostor are interwoven in a narrative which cannot but be interesting, and which serves as a kind of relish to his dry and carnal doctrines.

According to the best writers on prophecy, the religion of the grand apostate has been plainly foretold by the prophet Daniel, and by St John in the Revelation; and as, with all works of darkness, a time is fixed to its duration: its fall* is certain, and the result of it will prove glorious to the Church of Christ.

“O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good!”

* Bishop Newton says, “If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the East the space of 1260 years, and then a great and glorious revolution will

As the principal scene which I here describe is connected with the Regency of Tunis, or its vicinity, I have endeavoured, in the Introduction, to trace its history, from the time the Saracens first entered Africa to the present day. This, the reader will find, I have partly done from Arabic sources, hitherto unknown in England, or at least not translated into the English language. The history of Tunis is, *to a very great extent*, the history of North Africa.* The spirit of Mohammedanism will be found greatly developed in this historical sketch.

In the adventures of Abdallah there is nothing imaginary. He is to this day in the service of His Highness the Bey of Tunis; and as he may, perhaps, not wish to trouble the public with his present affairs, the author can have no inclination to interfere with them.

Should this work excite the attention of those who pray for the establishment of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and lead them to interest themselves in behalf of Barbary, I shall consider

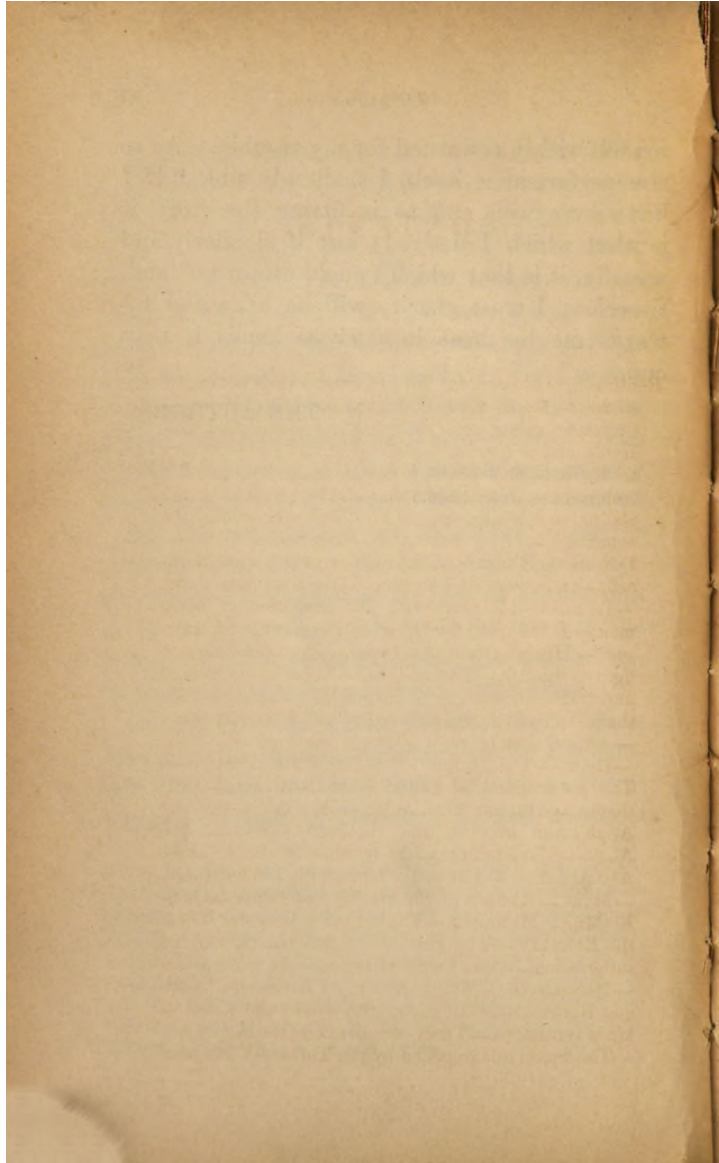
follow; perhaps the restoration of the Jews, perhaps the destruction of Antichrist, but another still greater and more glorious will succeed: and what can this be so probably as the full conversion of the Gentiles to the Church of Christ, and the beginning of the Millennium, or reign of the saints upon earth?—Dissertation xvii. See also Habershon.

* The religious ceremonies, customs, and manners of the Tunisians may also, with very few exceptions, be considered as those of the whole of North Africa.

myself richly rewarded for my trouble. As to the performance itself, I shall only add, "If I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain to," and, therefore, I trust charity will be exercised towards me by those into whose hands it may come.

THE AUTHOR.

9, ST ANDREW SQUARE, }
EDINBURGH, *July*, 1844. }



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THE dissensions and troubles in Arabia, after the death of Mohammed, kept his followers sufficiently occupied in their own country; but no sooner was peace and order restored than they began to manifest a spirit of conquest and proselytism. The prophet had repeatedly urged his followers to spread his religion from one end of the world to the other; and his assurance, that, "if twenty of them persevered, two hundred of their enemy should be overcome, and if one hundred were firm, one thousand could not resist them:" and the words of Abubaker, that "fighting for the religion is an act of obedience to God," checked any appalling comparison between the greatness of the task and the littleness of the means. A great part of Asia and Africa had been subdued by them, and the Caliph Othman now turned his attention to Barbary. He sent Abdallah, a brave general, with instruction to conquer and convert the Africans to the religion of Mohammed.*

* Mills' History, p. 48.

This civil and ecclesiastical missionary led from the camp of Memphis an army of upwards of forty thousand valiant Arabs, and arrived at Tripoli, A.D. 647, where he awaited the attack of the Greeks. Gregory the prefect engaged the invaders, but his fate was soon decided by the superiority of the Mussulmen arms. Gregory was slain, his daughter, who fought by his side, was taken captive, and Tripoli fell into Abdallah's hands. This victory, however, was not obtained without considerable loss. This, together with the plague which at that time greatly raged in Tripoli, constrained Abdallah to abandon his conquest, and to return to Egypt.

This expedition was not renewed till about A.D. 660, when Okba, or Ukba, with a large army of infantry, composed chiefly of Barbarians, and with ten thousand chosen Syrian cavalry, was sent by the Caliph to reclaim the ground which their arms had gained. Okba did not find much opposition, owing to the unsettled state of the country, their indifference to religion, and to the oppressions and extortion of their rulers. As he advanced, he made himself master of the chief cities along the shore of the Mediterranean, and those that did not willingly submit and embrace his religion, he treated according to the precept of his master, viz., "to kill and to destroy;" but at the same time, faithful to the instructions of Abubaker, Okba saved the lives of women, children, and the aged.

When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Tunis,

he built the city Kairwan,* on the ruins of ancient Cyrene. After having fortified it according to the manner of those times, it served for a place of refuge in accidents of war, being no less than thirty-six miles distant from the Mediterranean sea, and upwards of one hundred from Tunis. A wall of brick surrounded the rising capital, which was afterwards decorated with a governor's palace, a mosque supported by five hundred columns of granite and marble, and several schools of learning. It holds the fourth place, in point of holiness, in the Moslem world; because in the mosque is contained the tomb of the barber and friend of the prophet. Neither Jew nor Christian is permitted to enter the city without express permission from the Bey. The Mohammedans themselves never enter it without first taking their shoes off, thinking they would pollute the *holy ground* if they did not manifest every outward mark of respect. It has certainly greatly fallen from its former splendour; but I have been informed, from very good authority, that there is yet a great deal of wealth and remains of ancient magnificence to be found in it.

Owing to some misunderstanding between Okba

* "The famous city Kiruan, (or Cairwan,) otherwise called Caroen, was founded by Hukba, who was sent as General of the army from Arabia Deserta by Hutmen, the third Mohammedan Calif. From the Mediterranean sea this city is distant thirty-six miles, and from Tunis almost one hundred; neither was it built for any other purpose than that the Arabian armies might securely rest therein, with all such spoils as they won from the Barbarians."—Leo, p. 254.

and the Caliph, the former was ordered to give up his command to Dinar, one of Okba's freedmen. But the Caliph soon saw the necessity of restoring this great man to his dignity; which Okba no sooner obtained, than he threw Dinar, his rival, into prison, for having commenced the building of another city not far from Kairwan, and for having transported all its inhabitants to it. The next step Okba took was to march to Melik, a city in Numidia, where, after having defeated the Romans, and garrisoned the place with Mohammedan troops, he marched to Erbau, the capital of Zaab, the ancient Lambesa. Here an engagement took place with the governor, in which Okba was victorious. The inhabitants were slain, and the country fell into the hands of the Saracens.* Advancing, without any opposition, through Mauritania, he arrived at Tangiers, which place submitted without the least resistance. Leaving Tangiers, he marched towards the remotest parts of the present kingdom of Morocco, where he had been informed there were warlike and savage tribes, living without religion and without laws. These, this zealous conqueror and converter thought, were the very objects of his

* There are various etymologies given of this word. Some derive it from the Arabic word Sarak, which signifies to steal, and hence call them thieves. Others derive it from Sharak, the East, and make the word therefore to signify Eastern. The letters Sin and Shin interchange. Some say that there is an Arabic word Saraini, which signifies a pastoral people, and think that Saracini is a corruption from it. See Mills' History of Mohammedanism, p. 28; and Casiri's Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 18.

mission. At his arrival in their country, after a long and tedious march, he found them all under arms, ready to resist force by force. But they soon saw their mistake. Okba was not to be frightened with their war-cries, or expelled with bow and arrow; he advanced, and as he approached, he laid everything waste before him. There was no alternative left them but to submit and to embrace the religion of Mohammed, or to see their property taken, their wives and children carried away captive, and themselves slain by the sword. These tribes subdued, Okba thought he had conquered all Africa, and only lamented that the Atlantic Ocean stopped his progress. He is said to have spurred his horse into the waves, with his eyes towards heaven, and his unsheathed sword in his hand, and to have exclaimed, "O great God! if these obstacles (the waves) did not prevent me, I should have gone in search of other nations, amongst whom thy name is as yet unknown, and would have compelled them to adore no other God than thee, and to confess that Mohammed is thy prophet and apostle."

Okba now thought of returning to Kairwan, and of visiting the places he had conquered; but imprudently thinking he had no more use of his army, he dismissed them, with the exception of 5000 men. The Saracens had only conquered those cities which lay in their way: there were many others, occupied with Roman troops. These, during the absence of Okba, united themselves with the native Berbers, and, under the command of Kuscile, a Moorish prince, determined to expel their common enemy.

Accordingly, Kuscile marched his troops toward Kairwan, the capital city of the Mohammedans. In the meantime Dinar, who was still in prison, and who was the first to be informed of this insurrection, gave notice of it to Okba; who, notwithstanding his inferior force, determined to meet the enemy, and to die honourably in the cause of God. But first sending for Dinar, he addressed him in these affecting words: "O noble-minded slave! I might have had to have been thankful to thee for the safety of the Mohammedans, had I not been so imprudent as to have dispersed my army, which it is now too late to recall. I give thee thy liberty; depart for thy safety; endeavour to collect troops, and use all thy power to re-establish the dominion of our prophet in this part of the world. As for me, I cannot disgrace the Mohammedan cause and my office by flight. I therefore go to be slain by my enemies; but I will at the same time show them the last actions of Okba."—"I have reason to hate thee," answered Dinar; "but I have more reason to love my religion, the cause of our prophet, and the prosperity of our people. Thinkest thou I am more capable to disgrace our cause by flight than thou art? I will die with thee, with whom I could not live." Both thus determined to sacrifice themselves in the cause of their prophet, placed themselves at the head of their army, and marched towards Zaab, where the enemy was encamped. When the two generals saw the enemy, amounting to about 80,000, they encouraged their 5000 men not to fear death, but to fight manfully, and to

remember that God was able to make them victorious, though inferior in point of number ; and, unsheathing their swords, they threw their scabbards at their feet, an example which all their men imitated. No sooner was the command given, than the Saracens, with a courage amounting to despair, fell upon their enemies, and made a most horrible carnage amongst them. The scene of bloodshed did not cease till not one of the Saracens remained alive. The place where this battle was fought is to this day called the "Field of Okba," as a monument of the valour of this general. Kuscile then marched to Kairwan, and remained sole master of this part of Africa.

This defeat, however, did not discourage the Saracens. They made several other very bold attempts to subjugate Africa. Carthage was several times taken and retaken ; and, had it not been for the indiscreet practices of the Emperor of Constantinople, and for the religious discords which then so unhappily divided the Christian church, this country might, perhaps, have remained in the possession of the Christians. No sooner did the Saracens lose ground, than the Emperor, in utter disregard of the provincials, imposed upon his African subjects new and oppressive taxes. The murmurings of the people against this injustice, and their declared preference of a Saracenian governor, soon reached the court of Damascus, and another attempt of the conquest of Africa was resolved upon.

A few years before the close of the seventh cen-

tury, Hassan, the viceroy of Egypt, was ordered to attack Carthage, and subject the whole of the surrounding country to the religion and authority of the Caliph. But he had hardly reduced the metropolis of Africa, when a large force arrived from Constantinople, which compelled him to retire to Kairwan. The issue of a battle, however, again put the city of Dido into his hands; and a second engagement, which took place near Utica, proved so disastrous to the Greeks, that they fled to their ships, and finally relinquished the country.* Thus, with the fall of Carthage, all their settlements on the sea-coast, from Tripoli to Tangiers, were added to the empire of the Saracens. The Barbarians, or Berbers, the ancient Lybians,—a race of wandering shepherds, who inhabited this country before the arrival of the Phœnicians,—made several struggles for independence, both in government and religion. They were headed, according to some Arabian authors, by a queen named Kehena; but, finding themselves unsuccessful, they submitted to their conquerors. Between the Bedouins of Arabia and the Berbers of Africa, there was a striking similarity of character: it was therefore natural, that when the Africans adopted the religion of the Arabs, they should adopt their name and language also. However, in adopting the Arabic language, they have not given up their own; for they continue to speak it amongst themselves. From this

* See the Edinburgh Cabinet Library; Barbary States, p. 117.

epoch, Northern Africa may be regarded as a section of the great Mohammedan empire.*

Of the various governors who succeeded Ahsen, or Hassen, in the command of Africa, very little is known, except of Mussa, who was so instrumental in the conquest of Spain. Kairwan, the city built by Ukba, was the abode of the governors, or Ameers, from whence they extended their cares to the government of the western provinces, and over Spain.

I translated the following from Ibn Wadrak, an Arabic historian :—

The first of the dynasty of the Abasites that entered Africa was one of the sons of Beni Abas, called Ashath, who was son of Okba the Huzite. He received his appointment from the Caliphat Gjafer Elmasor, in the year (A.D.) 729.† On his arrival

* See Mills' History, p. 107.

† For the sake of convenience, I have here given the dates according to the Christian era. Ibn Wadrak gives the Hejra, or Hegira. The flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina is the epoch of the Mohammedan nations. Omar, the second Caliph, instituted the Hegira in imitation of the Christians, who counted their years from their persecution by Diocletian, (A.D. 284,) and who called it the era of the martyrs. Thus the Mohammedans wished to commence their calculation of time from the period of the most memorable persecution they had suffered. The learned Mohammedan astronomers have been divided in opinion on the exact year of the Christians which corresponds with the Hegira. But the generality of writers place this epoch on Friday, the 16th of July, A.D. 622. The ancient Arabs counted time by solar months; these months always returned in the same season, and their names correspond with the employments which the seasons rendered necessary. Since the epoch of the Hegira was fixed, the Mohammedans count time by lunar months, the Arabian year consisting of 354 days, eight hours, and forty-eight

in Africa, he destroyed and dispersed the Beni Ameiah, and then occupied himself in tranquillizing the country.

Shortly after, the Hargites, headed by Hatab, rebelled and committed great hostilities; Ashath no sooner heard of it, than he went out against them and destroyed their army, and killed their chief Hatab.

The country again in peace, Ashath occupied himself in building the walls of Kairwan. He commenced this work in the month Rabia-el-Aul, (May,) and finished it in Ragiab (September) of the same year of the Hegira 731. The height of the wall, according to the historian Ibn Nebuta, was seventeen ells.

The ensigns and standards of the governors of this dynasty were black, on account of their having gone to Africa to revenge the blood of Hussian, Said, and Abraham the priest. Even their clothes were black, as a token of mourning for these great men.

After Ashath, Omar, son of Kabisah, son of Abo Zaphra, was sent to Africa. This Omar was surnamed Hizar Mird, a Persian word, which means *one thousand men*. He was so called, on account of

minutes. The intercalary days are adjusted by a cycle of thirty lunar years, of which nineteen are of 354 days, and eleven of 355 days. The years of excess are in the following order:—2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.—D'Herbelot's Bib. Orient., Art. Hegira; De Guigné's Histoire Génér. des Huns, tom. i. p. 43; Marsden on the Hegira, p. 8. Thirty-two of our years are nearly equal to thirty-three Mohammedan years.—Mills' History, p. 20.

his great strength. He was considered to be able to resist one thousand men. Omar, before coming to Africa, had been governor of many parts in the East. He arrived at his new office with five hundred cavalry. In his time the Hargites increased greatly, notwithstanding his having orders from Mansor the Caliph to exterminate them; which orders he executed to the best of his abilities. After governing in Kairwan three years, he went to Zaab, and built the city Tobna. In a subsequent engagement with the Hargites he was killed, and Jasid Ben Hatem was appointed in his place.

Jasid entered Africa with 50,000 troops; and, like the former, he commenced the extermination of the Hargites, or dissenters, in which he was so successful, that in a short time the whole country was in a perfectly tranquil state. Through the exercise of his sound judgment, and impartial generosity, he made himself beloved and esteemed by all his subjects. He used to say—"I have done harm to nobody; but if there is *one* who pretends that I have wronged him, may God judge between us!" Jasid demolished the mosque at Kairwan, except the Mohrab, (altar,) and completely rebuilt it. He embellished this edifice with green marble (verde antique) columns, which he bought at an immense price. He encouraged learning at large, but was especially fond of poets: many of these learned men were supported by him; but there was one in particular, a certain Maroan, to whom he was passionately attached. After this man had once recited to him a few of his verses, Jasid pre-

sented to him 50,000 pieces of money, and proclaimed, that those of his army that loved him should deal favourably with the poet, which proclamation brought him another 50,000 ; so that Maroan left the prince with 100,000.*

Jasid died in 753, after a reign of fifteen years, and left his son to rule after him ; but Rashid having come the same year to the Caliphat, he sent Ruah, son of Hatem, of the tribe Asad, to take the rule of Africa in preference to young Jasid.

Ruah was the brother of Jasid, and in many respects like him. He appointed his nephew to the command of Nineveh. Ruah was very courageous, and full of generosity ; he boasted of having served under Saffa, Mansur, Mehedi, and now under the Caliphat of Rashid. Abn Rashik, the historian, relates a story of this Ruah, which greatly illustrates his character. "One day," he says, "whilst Ruah was sitting in his pleasure-house, and with him his favourite wife, one of his servants entered with a large vase filled with roses, of yellow and white colours, as a present to H. H. ; and, as these kinds were out of the proper season, Ruah ordered the vase to be returned to the man, and, as a recompence, to be filled with silver coins. 'But, O prince!' said the lady, 'why are you wronging this man? Did he not bring you the vase filled with roses of yellow and white colours? why do you return it with money of one colour only?' The prince, on hearing this witty observation, laughed, and ordered

* Equal to about L.1700 English money.

the vase to be filled, one half with gold and the other with silver." Ruah reigned over this kingdom five years, and then died at Kairwan in 758. The end of all things is known to God! Ruah was governor of India, and his brother Jasid of Africa, so that all wondered at the great distance that separated them, but God has brought them both to the same grave!

Rashid, the Caliph of the faithful, then sent Harthama. Halcaan, the historian, says that this prince built the city of Munisteer, in the year 764; but Abn Shabath says he built only a palace in it, and the city was built by Zakariah, son of Kaderan. To Harthama is also ascribed the building of Tripoli. This governor was just and prudent; in all his actions he studied the welfare of his people, yet he could not please them; this annoyed him so much, that he requested of Rashid to be recalled. Rashid recalled him, and made him his minister of private affairs, in which office he remained till the accession of Mamun to the Caliphate of the faithful. *Harthama advanced higher and higher, till Mamun, for unknown reasons, had him beheaded.* Some say that Fozal killed him without the knowledge of the Caliph.

After Harthama returned to the East, Abraham, or Ibrahim, son of *Aglab*, was sent to Africa about the year 770.

This Abraham is the *first of the Dynasty of Aglab*; the first action he did was to build the city Kazar, about three miles from Kairwan. The king's palace, which was to the south of the large mosque

at Kairwan, he destroyed, and transported the seat of government to his new city. His reign was short and tranquil, and when he died the Caliph Mamun appointed Abo Abas, his (the former governor's) son, to rule over Africa.

Abo Abas, son of Aglab, reigned in Africa two years, when Manzur Tabandi, one of his generals, conspired against him, and kept him for some time besieged. Affairs remained in an unsettled state twelve years, when all was arranged in favour of Abo Abas. He died at Kairwan, and was buried with his father; and Saidat Allah, his son, succeeded him in the government, in the year 785.

Saidat Allah was a very good prince; his seat of government was at Kairwan, where he rebuilt the walls, and repaired the great mosque. The historian Kashid says: "Saidat Allah sent an expedition by sea against the king of Sicily. The expedition embarked at Susa, consisting of 20,000 men. On their arrival in Sicily, they attacked the king's army of 150,000 men, and defeated them. The expedition, which was headed by Asad Ben Furat, took possession of many of the infidel's places, and marched to Syracuse, and laid siege to it, in which noble undertaking Furat died." The faithful, however, were not discouraged at the death of their leader; they took possession of the whole island,* which remained in the hands of the Saracens till the year 1123, when the infidels reconquered it.

* The governors of Sicily received their appointment from Africa.

Saidat Allah, it is recorded, used to say, "I fear not the day of judgment; I did four good actions; I have built the mosque of Kairwan, and have expended on it L.1200; I dug a well at the gate Rabiah; I built the suburbs of Suza, and have appointed Ahmed Ben Mehres as kadi, (or chief judge.)" This kadi was a learned hermit; he died in 806, soon after which the death of Saidat Allah took place also, and Abn Okal, his brother, succeeded him to the throne.

During Okal's reign, which lasted only two years and nine months, nothing important occurred. At his death the government fell to his brother Abo Abas Abd Allah.

Abo Abas, like his brother Okal, obtained his government from the Caliph Motasam, who had succeeded Mamun. Abo Abas was an excellent man; in his days Sahnoun, the priest, refused to allow the capricious dissenters to enter the mosque, for they used to hold discussions in this holy place, on their differences of opinion. The principal sects at the time were the Abadites, Sanadakites, and the Hargites. In 827 Abo Abas died, and his son Abo Abraham succeeded him.

In the reign of this prince the inhabitants of Tunis rebelled, he therefore marched against them with a considerable army, and succeeded in subduing them; and, as is usual in such cases, made many prisoners, especially women. Sahnoun, the priest, insisted upon sending back these unfortunate creatures, in which he was opposed, especially by those officers who had captured many of them.

He, therefore, by force entered the houses of the chiefs and officers, and liberated all the women. When this came to the ears of the prince, he sent orders to Sahnoun to restore them again to the respective persons, which Sahnoun refused to do, telling the messenger—"Go and say to thy master, as long as Sahnoun holds his present office, he says he will not comply with these his wicked orders." When the governor heard this, he left Sahnoun to act in this affair according to his pleasure.

Abo Abraham died in 834, after having held the government under four Caliphs; viz., under Muntasar, Mutawakil, Mustain, and Moatasam, and was succeeded by his brother Abo Mohammed, but he died after a reign of twelve months, and the government of Africa came to his nephew, Abo Abd Allah Mohammed.

In his times the people of Barka rebelled against Tulun, who, with an army from Egypt, after several bloody battles, subdued them. Barka formerly belonged to Africa.*

The duration of this prince's reign was ten years and five months. The kingdom of Africa was then conferred upon his brother Abraham, or Ibrahim, by the Caliph Muhamed.

Abraham was an intelligent and very generous prince. He lived mostly in Tunis, where he occupied himself in erecting new and fine buildings. He also laid the foundation of the city Rackada in the year 846, and finished it in the following year. To this place he transported the seat of govern-

* By Africa, Wadrak means the regency of Tunis.

ment. He went to Sicily, and left his son Abo Abas Ahmed* in charge of Africa. In Sicily he made many glorious conquests. He fought the infidels in the name and strength of God, till he was called by the Lord to enter "the Life of Glory" for his many good actions. He died in Sicily in the month *Alkadi* (January) 817. His remains were brought to Kairwan. He reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Abd Allah.

The qualities of this prince were very superior; he was an example to all his subjects, for which he was esteemed and beloved. He chose Tunis for his residence, to which place he also removed the seat of government.

His son Ziadat Allah was a reprobate character. One day complaints were brought of his having *drunk wine*, for which Abd Allah had him imprisoned. This had such an effect on Ziadat Allah, that he determined upon vengeance. Accordingly,

* Dr Nicholson, in the introduction to his book, about which I shall have to say something more, makes out that Abo Abas succeeded Ibrahim, and was slain by Ziadat Allah, who, he says, was his son. But Abo Abas, according to Ibn Wadrak, died in Sicily, and was succeeded by Abd Allah, his son, who had that end which the Doctor ascribes to Abo Abas. When Ibrahim went to Sicily, my author says, that *وخلف علي افريقية ولده ابا العباس احمد* "he left Abo Abas Ahmed, (or more properly Abo l' Abas Ahmed,) his son, in charge of Africa." But this Abo l' Abas did not succeed to the throne; what became of him, my historian does not mention, but he does say, after giving an account of Ibrahim's death, *وتولي بعده ولده عبد الله* "and his son Abd Allah reigned after him."

he bribed three Slavonian* freedmen to kill his father; in which these wretches but too well succeeded, and brought him the head of his father to the prison. No sooner did Ziadat Allah see it than he left the prison and mounted the throne. This horrible parricide took place in 879. The remains of Abd Allah were interred in Tunis.

Ziadat Allah's character has been sufficiently demonstrated in the tragical event which brought him to the throne. But now finding himself perfect master of the kingdom, he gave himself up to a most vicious life. He neglected the affairs of government; and, instead of looking to his own interests, and those of his subjects, he was constantly either at his wine, or in the company of musicians, actors, and buffoons.

The three Slavonians, who were the wicked instruments to his coming to the throne, he killed. He also slew all those of his family who he thought might prove a hindrance to his reign. Amongst

* Conde is certainly wrong, who, as Dr Nicholson (in his account of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa, being the annals of that province for thirty years, extracted from an ancient Arabic MS. ascribed to El Mas'ûdi, belonging to the Ducal Library of Saxe-Gotha) justly remarks, must have mistaken الصقالبة for صقلية and makes the three slaves Sicilians instead of Slavonians. But Dr Nicholson's author (whoever he be) is not less wrong in making the murderers of Abd Allah *two* slaves. Besides, Abulfeda, Conde, and Cardonne, Ibn Wadrak says, *واتفق مع ثلاثة من موالى أبيه الصقالبة* علي قتل أبيه "And he plotted with three Slavonian freedmen of his father upon his father's death."

these were his uncles. Many of the ministers and officers, and some of the most noble of the citizens, shared their fate.

Abo Abd Allah, the Shiite, one who pretended to be a descendant of the family of Mohammed, and who had made some attempts to become master of Africa, and had already been successful in Kitamah, now thought the conduct of Ziadat Allah afforded him an opportunity for carrying out his plan. Ziadat Allah saw the necessity of sending a force of 40,000 men, commanded by Ibrahim Ibn Aglab, to expel the Shiite from his territories. The two armies met at Sabebah, where an engagement took place, in which Abd Allah was victorious. No sooner did Ziadat Allah hear of the defeat of his troops, than he gathered all his treasures, and with his family, and many of his officers, fled to Cairo. This took place in the Caliphate of Muktar Billah, and when Noshar was governor of Egypt. From Cairo he went to Rackah, where he received orders from the Caliph to return to his country, and, with the assistance of Noshar, to expel Abo Abd Allah. The fugitive sovereign returned to Cairo, where Noshar advised him to go to Hammamet, promising to send him assistance to that place. Ziadat Allah did as he was advised, but years passed away and the promised assistance never came. Here one evil befel him after another: his friends forsook him, his constitution was ruined, and in spite of all this, he continued to be a slave to vice. Disappointed by Noshar, he determined upon travelling to Jerusa-

Iem. He proceeded as far as Ramlah, where God smote him with a sickness, of which he died.*

Thus, after 112 years, finished the dynasty of Aglab in Africa. Muktadar was also the last Caliph of the dynasty of Abas who had dominion in Africa. Prayers were now offered for the house of Obeid the Shiite, who became complete master of the country.

Thus much from Ibn Wadrak.

Abo Abd Allah had made himself master of the kingdom of Ziadat Allah, but not for himself. Obeid Allah, or Obeidallah, was destined to reap the glory of his conquest. The circumstances which led to this I shall briefly relate.

Amongst the other sects of the Shiites, there was one formed, A.D. 770, by Ismael, son of Giafer Sadik, the seventh Shiite Imaam; and its adherents were called, from their founder, Ismaelians. This sect is also known under the name of Assassins. The Assassins (who are so called from their founder Hassan) were originally a distinct sect, but for some political motive joined the Ismaelians, and adopted both their name and tenets. One of their *peculiar* tenets was, *to conform to all parties and religions, as long as they gained their object by so doing.* They had also certain mysteries, which they only communicated to those whose fidelity they had tried for a considerable time. Upon the whole, their religion resembled, in a great many things, the

* According to Mas'ûdi, Ziadat Allah was buried in Jerusalem.

Druzes of Mount Lebanon. As they increased, they augmented their number of missionaries, who, initiated in all the mysteries of the sect, did their utmost to promote its object, which in reality was of a political nature. Amongst other traditions of the Mahommedans, there was one, which some shrewd leaders amongst the Ismaelians thought might well answer their object. It was the reappearance of the first of the twelve Imaams, Ali, under the title of Mohdi, or director. This tradition was, and still is, firmly believed, not only by the Shiites, but by the Sonnites also. The prophet is said to have predicted his reappearance about the end of the year of Hejra 300, and his seat was to be in the West. This tradition was the very thing for the Ismaelians, as the place where the Mohdi was to appear was a good distance from the Caliphs, who could not interfere to subvert their gigantic plans. The coming of the Mohdi, therefore, they began to preach—a doctrine so suited to the general expectation of all parties. To Africa they sent some of the most eminent of their missionaries, and Abo Abd Allah at the head of them. This man was, in every respect, suited to carry out their project. He soon succeeded in ingratiating himself into the favour of the Katamians, who willingly embraced his doctrines, and offered themselves as instruments to subjugate the neighbouring kingdoms. His progress, however, was but slow during the reigns of Ibrahim and Abd Allah; and, had it not been for the debauched conduct of Ziadat Allah, the Ismaelite missionary would not have

succeeded so easily in preparing a throne for Obeidallah, (a descendant of the founder of this remarkable sect,) whom his party appointed to personify the Mohdi.

No sooner did Abo Abd Allah perceive the character of Ziadat Allah, than he made sure of success. He, therefore, sent for Obeidallah to Salamia, and advised him to repair to the scene of action. The Mohdi obeyed, but was imprisoned at Segilmasa by order of the Caliph, where he remained till Abo Abd Allah came to liberate him, which was after the flight of Ziadat Allah, and after his triumphal entry to Kairwan. To liberate the Mohdi, Abd Allah surrounded Segilmasa with his troops; and in an attack of a few hours the town yielded, and the Ismaelite entered it victorious. When he saw Obeidallah, Mas'ûdi (according to his translator) tells us—"He went on foot to him, and bowed himself before him, and wept for excess of joy. Then he went before him on foot to his tent, and delivered up the authority into his hands, and said to those present, 'This is my Lord and your Lord! God has fulfilled his promise to him, restored him his right, and made his cause to conquer.' Then his soldiers plundered Segilmasa, and the town was burned."

The entrance of the Mohdi to Rakada was most magnificent. He took possession of the government of Africa, and made several changes both in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs. He was looked upon by many as the Imaam, the Messiah, and the poets went even so far as to put him on a level with the

Almighty, as the reader may see from the following lines :—

The Messiah entered into Raqquada ; (Rakada;) Adam and Noah entered in there.

Ahmed-el-Mustaffa entered in there ; the ram and the victim entered in there.

Allah the Almighty entered in there ; and everything beside him is wind.*

But the majority were offended, and considered it the greatest blasphemy. The author of these lines was Mohammed el Badil, and Mas'ûdi, after quoting them, indignantly exclaims, "Allah confound him, and reward both the poet and his theme according to their deserts!" In Obeidallah were now combined both ecclesiastical and civil powers. Abo Abd Allah now began to change his mind with regard to the Mohdi, and went even so far as to attempt a conspiracy against him. But the Imaam was now too firm on his throne, and Abo Abd Allah's attempts to shake him cost him his own life. He was slain, together with his accomplice, Abul Abas, by several persons, who lay in ambush for them at the instigation of Obeidallah.

Such were the circumstances which led to the subversion of the Aglabite dynasty in Africa. Fez and Tangiers had already been wrested from the Caliphs of Bagdad by some of the real or pretended posterity of Ali ; but Obeidallah put an entire end

* See Dr Nicholson's Account of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa, p. 115. I refer those of my readers, who would like to have a fuller account of the establishment of this dynasty, to this work.

to their authority, and made himself master of the northern territories of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt. As soon as the country was tranquillized, he founded a new city, which he called by his name Mehediah,* which he made the place of his residence.

Moaz, or, as some call him, Muad, grandson to Mohdi, and his successor, subjugated Egypt, and proclaimed himself Caliph of that country. Having established the united dynasty of Fatima and Ali, and quelled every opposition to his throne, he founded the city of Grand Cairo.† He bestowed the government of Africa upon Joseph Ibn Zeni, one of his generals, to be holden as a fief of the Caliph of Egypt. This took place about the year 980. Owing to a combination of events, which, for want of proper resources, it is impossible to describe, Northern Africa, it would seem, was, about the year 1234, divided into various kingdoms; and those of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, were the most considerable. Those who were at first sent as governors declared their independence, and assumed the title of king. The Caliphs were at too great a distance

* "The city of Mehediah (or, as it is also called, El Media) has been founded in our days, by Mehedi, the first of the Kairuan Pontiffs. It is situated on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, and is well fortified with castles and forts, and has an excellent port, which is very much frequented."—Leo, p. 222.

† D'Anville's *Memoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 132. Moaz might have repaired this city, which this author ascribes to him as being its founder. Ibn Wadrak, as we have seen, mentions Ziadat Allah to have been at that place.

to check any thing of the kind in its infancy. It seems that Abu Abas was the first who assumed this title. Of him and his son, Abu Fares, who succeeded him, we shall find something more in the course of these pages. It is said that the court of Abu Fares was regulated in the most splendid manner, and his system of administering public affairs was both moderate and successful.

In 1269, we find Omar-el-Muley-Mostanea on the throne of Tunis; and it is from this sovereign that the history of this regency takes something like the shape of order.

Louis IX., the saint-sovereign of France, after his four years' captivity among the Saracens, returned to France; but, undaunted by his defeat, he again set sail for Africa, in order to punish the Tunisians, who intercepted the succours sent to the Christian armies in Palestine, and who also furnished the Sultan of Egypt with horses, arms, and troops. The Crusaders (whose exploits Dr Robertson so justly terms "wild expeditions, the effects of superstition or folly;" and, with still greater freedom, he pronounces them as "the only common enterprise in which the European nations ever engaged, and which they all undertook with equal ardour—a singular monument of human folly") accordingly entered the bay, and, after considerable losses, landed their troops in the month of July 1270, and took possession of the country in these words—"We put you to the ban of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of Louis King of France, his lieutenant."

Louis intended to reduce Carthage before he laid siege to Tunis, then a very formidable city. He had already done a great deal towards the promotion of his object, when he found it was impossible for him to attack Tunis till he had received the reinforcement his brother the King of Sicily had promised him. But before this arrived, a contagious disease swept away half of his troops. To this was added a burning sun, and many other troubles which the Moors caused them, besides incessant attacks. The living were not sufficient to bury the dead, whose bodies were thrown into the ditches of the camp, which were soon completely filled with them. The Counts of Nemours, of Montmorency, and of Vendôme, as also the King's favourite son, the Count of Nevers, had already expired, when Louis found himself attacked by the disease, which he was conscious from the beginning would prove fatal. Whilst the King was in this state, and the plain and the hills covered with Moors, the fleet of the King of Sicily appeared on the horizon. They landed; and when Charles entered the tent of his brother, he found him extended lifeless on a bed of ashes, which he had chosen. The army of Louis was encamped near the ruins of ancient Carthage; and Charles, afraid of the contagion, encamped a mile further off.

After a few days, the Moors ventured again to attack the Christians. But the French, English, and Italians, fell upon them with such fury, that the Mohammedans were obliged to take to flight,

and about three thousand of them were slain. Several other engagements, in which the Crusaders were victorious, sufficiently proved to the King of Tunis that the force of his enemies was superior. He therefore saw no other way than to sue for peace, which Charles granted upon these conditions :*— That he (the King of Tunis) was to pay all the expenses of the expedition. That the Christian merchants, trading to Tunis, should be free from all imposition of taxes, &c. And, lastly, that he was to pay an annual tribute to Charles I. of 400,000 dollars. When this peace was concluded, Charles returned with his whole army, taking with him great spoils, and the intestines of his brother, which were deposited in the cathedral of Monreale, near

* The conditions on which Tunis surrendered, according to Fuller, were these :—"That it should pay yearly to Charles, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, forty thousand crowns ; That it should receive Christian ministers freely to exercise their religion ; If any Saracen would be baptized, he should be suffered ; That all Christian captives should be set free ; That they should pay back so much money as should defray the Christians' charge in this voyage." To this he adds :—"Our Edward would needs have had the town beaten down, and all put to the sword ; thinking the foulest quarter too fair for them. Their goods (because got by robberies) he would have sacrificed as an *anathema* to God, and burnt to ashes. His own share he execrated, and caused it to be burnt, forbidding the English to save anything of it ; because that coals stolen out of that fire would sooner burn their houses than warm their hands. It troubled not the consciences of other princes to enrich themselves herewith, but they glutted themselves with the stolen honey which they found in this hive of drones."—*History of the Holy War*, b. iv. chap. 28.

Palermo, whilst the heart and bones were deposited at the abbey of St Dionigius.*

In 1300, a new dynasty was formed, viz., that of Bimerinis; and in 1307 we find Abu-Shiled, one of this family, on the throne of Tunis.

In 1362, Joseph King of Fez and Morocco made several attempts at subjugating Tremezen, but he died before he could accomplish his object.

He was succeeded by Abu-Kasem, who slew the King of Tremezen, and made himself master of the country. This happened in 1404. In the same year, the Watazi expelled the Bimerinis dynasty.

In 1425, we find Abu-Omar-Otman on the throne of Tunis; and in 1461, Abo Zaccaria.

The kings of Fez reigned at Tunis till about the end of the fifteenth century.

About the year 1497, the sceptre of Tunis was in the hands of Mohammed, of whom nothing farther is known than that he reigned thirty-five years.

He left several sons, of whom Muley Ahsen, the youngest, obtained the government through the influence of his mother and Abu Selim.

At this time, the affairs of Tunis attracted again the attention of the European nations, and that through the following circumstances:—

Two youths, Haruc and Hiareddin, sons of a potter on the isle of Lesbos, prompted by a restless spirit, forsook their father's trade, ran to sea, and

* See Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, vol. ii. p. 298. Also, Naugis' and Villani's Cronoche di San Dionigio.

joined a party of pirates, among whom, through their valour and activity, they soon distinguished themselves. Having embraced the Mohammedan religion, they collected several ships; the elder brother, who, from the red colour of his beard, obtained the name of Barbarossa, was appointed admiral; while Hiareddin was nominated second in command. They called themselves the friends of the sea, and the enemies of all who sailed upon it; and their characters soon became terrible, from the walls of Constantinople to the Straits of Gibraltar. In a desultory war between the Spanish and Algerine monarchs, Barbarossa appeared as the ally of the African king; but he murdered the monarch whom he came to protect, and seated himself on the throne of Algiers and Tremezen. He infested the coast of Spain and Italy with great fleets, in which undertaking he was slain, after a brave resistance, by the generals of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

The throne of Algiers now fell to Hiareddin, who is likewise known by the name of Barbarossa. He was as skilful as his brother; but dreading the vengeance of the Europeans, he put his dominion under the protection of the Grand Seignior, from whom he obtained a great body of Turkish troops. He was afterwards made by Solyman admiral of the Turkish fleet, to oppose Andrew Doria, the greatest commander of that age. He gained the full confidence of the Sultan and his Vizier, and proposed to them a plan which he had formed of making himself master of Tunis, the most flourishing kingdom at that time on the coast of Africa.

Of this they approved, and furnished him with the necessary aid to enable him to carry out his plan.

Muley Ahsen had signalized the beginning of his reign by putting to death all the members of his family whom he could get into his power. Arrashid, one of his elder brothers, found a retreat amongst the Arabs, and made several unsuccessful attempts to recover his throne. But fearing, through the treachery of his allies, he might fall into the hands of his cruel brother, he placed himself under the protection of Hiareddin. The pirate promised to recover his throne; and it was then that he opened to the Sultan his plan for reducing Tunis to the obedience of the Turks; making use of Arrashid's name, and co-operating with the party who longed for his restoration.

Barbarossa appeared before Tunis with a powerful fleet, and numerous army, announcing to the inhabitants that he came to assert the rights of their legitimate sovereign. Muley Ahsen having, by his mode of government, alienated the affections of his subjects, was obliged to fly, and the hero was received with open arms. But the people had soon to regret the rash step they had taken; for Arrashid did not make his appearance, he having been imprisoned by order of the Sultan, and Solyman was the only name that was heard amongst the acclamations of the foreign soldiers. The Tunisians took up arms against the traitor, but it was now too late. He forced them to acknowledge the authority of the Grand Seignior, and to submit to himself as his lieutenant.

The pirate now set about fortifying the town, and strengthening the Casaba which commands it, as also the Goletta ; which latter he made the principal station for his fleet, and the great arsenal for naval and military stores. He then recommenced his destructive excursions, and carried on depredations with greater violence amongst the Christian States than ever he had done before. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by him were brought to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, upon whom the whole of Christendom looked as the fittest and ablest prince to put a stop to this odious species of oppression. Muley Ahsen, also, after fruitless attempts to find assistance amongst the Mohammedans, to enable him to recover his throne, applied for this purpose to Charles. These appeals had the desired effect. A treaty was concluded with Muley Ahsen, and the Emperor determined on this occasion to command in person. A Flemish fleet carried from the ports of the Low Country a body of German infantry ; the galleys of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had distinguished themselves by so many victories over the French ; the Emperor himself embarked at Barcelona with the flower of Spanish nobility, and was joined by a considerable squadron from Portugal, commanded by the Infant Don Lewis, the Empress' brother. Andrew Doria was appointed high admiral, and the Marquis Gausto had the command of the land forces, under the Emperor. Cagliari, in Sardinia, was the general place of rendezvous.

On the 16th of July 1535, the fleet, consisting of near five hundred vessels, including those of the Knights of Malta, the determined enemies of the infidels, having on board above 30,000 regular troops, landed within sight of Tunis. Barbarossa had early intelligence of these preparations, and, therefore, lost no time in making the African princes believe that the Christians had the intention of extirpating the Mohammedans. This had the desired effect. Twenty thousand cavalry, with a great number of infantry, made their appearance under the walls of Tunis. From Algiers he drew what forces could be spared. But his greatest confidence he put in the Turkish soldiers, and in the strength of the Goletta, a fort commanding the bay of Tunis, and about twelve miles from the city. Six thousand Turks, under the command of Sinan, a renegade Jew, the bravest and most experienced of all his corsairs, he threw into that fort, which Charles immediately invested. Three separate attacks were concerted by the Emperor; and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, having one of these committed to each of them, pushed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inspires. Sinan displayed resolution and skill becoming the confidence his master had placed in him; the garrison displayed the utmost fortitude in the hard service on which they were ordered. But though he interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies; though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with continual incursions, the Goletta was attacked on all sides at once with no less fury than success.

A simultaneous assault was made, and the place was taken by storm. Sinan, with what remained of the garrison, fled to the city, where they were bitterly reproved by their master for having suffered the strength of Tunis to fall into the Christians' power. "Whenever we had to fight with men," answered the renegade, "you know, Hiarreddin, we have acquitted ourselves with glory; but we were attacked by demons, and by infernal furies: they have employed against us machines which vomited hell-fire, and which caused the earth to tremble, and we fled in order to preserve strength and courage to fight with men." Hiarreddin saw the necessity of changing his tone. He encouraged them to persevere, and told them that he expected additional forces from the Arabs, and that he would soon humble the Christians in spite of this apparent victory.

Barbarossa now determined to decide the fate of his kingdom by the issue of a battle. This resolution he communicated to his officers, and representing to them the fatal consequences which might follow if 10,000 Christian slaves, whom he had shut up in the citadel, should attempt to mutiny during the absence of the army, he proposed, as a necessary precaution for the public security, to massacre them. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight, but were filled with horror at his proposal with regard to the slaves; and Barbarossa, afraid of irritating them, spared the lives of those unfortunate persons.

The Emperor began to advance towards Tunis,

when Barbarossa with his army, amounting to 50,000, rushed upon the Christians with loud shouts ; but their undisciplined courage could not long stand the shock of regular battalions. The rout became general, and Barbarossa was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. Here everything was in confusion. The citadel was occupied by the Christian captives ; who, as he anticipated, knocked off their chains, burst open their prisons, overpowered the Turkish garrison, and turned the artillery against their former masters. Filled with rage and disappointment, Barbarossa left the scene of his former triumph, and fled to Bona.

The keys of the city were sent to the Emperor ; and whilst he was deliberating concerning the proper measures of protecting the inhabitants from military violence, the soldiers, fearing that they should be deprived of the booty which they had expected, rushed into the city without order, and began to kill and plunder without distinction of age or sex. Above 30,000 of the innocent inhabitants perished that day, and 10,000 were carried away as slaves. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory ; and among such scenes of horror, there was but one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction. Ten thousand Christian slaves, among whom were persons of distinction, met him as he entered the town ; and falling on their knees, thanked and blessed him as their deliverer.

Muley Ahsen took possession of his throne sur-

rounded with carnage, abhorred by his subjects, on whom he had brought such calamities, and pitied even by those whose rashness had been the occasion of them. In order to bridle the power of the African corsairs, for the security of his own subjects, and for the interests of the Spanish crown, Charles concluded a treaty* with the Moorish king. Having settled the affairs of Tunis, the victorious monarch embarked again for Europe ; the tempestuous weather, and sickness among his troops, not permitting him to pursue Barbarossa.†

Muley Ahsen did not hold Tunis a long time. Hiareddin endeavoured to get assistance from the Arabs, and took possession of several cities in the regency, which he put under the protection of Algiers. The king's power was not sufficient to

* The treaty with Muley Ahsen was on the following conditions :—"He should hold Tunis in fee of the Spanish crown ; that all Christian slaves, of whatever nation, should be set at liberty without a ransom ; that no subject of the Emperor should in future be detained in servitude ; that no Turkish corsair should be admitted into his ports ; that free trade, together with the unrestrained exercise of religion, should be allowed to all the Emperor's subjects ; that Charles should not only retain the Goletta, but that all the other sea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified should be put into his hands ; that Muley Ahsen should pay annually 12,000 crowns for the subsistence of the Spanish garrison in the Goletta ; that he should enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies, and should present to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage, six Moorish horses, and as many hawks."

† See Robertson's *Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, lib. v. ; Paolo Giovio, lib. xxxiii. ; and Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, tome iii.

oppose the daring pirate ; he, therefore, determined to leave his son Hamida in charge of Tunis, and proceed to Spain, to solicit assistance from his protector Charles V. During the king's absence, Hamida spread a report that his father had embraced the Christian religion, and therefore declared himself King of Tunis. The unfortunate Muley Ahsen thought that his presence alone could clear him from such a stigma, and restore all things to order. He hastened to Tunis, where he no sooner arrived, than, by the order of his unnatural son, he was thrown into a dungeon, and his choice was given him either to swallow poison, or to be deprived of his sight. Of the two evils, he preferred the latter. In his blind state he endeavoured to escape ; and, according to Marmol, retired to Tabarca, between Bona and Carthage, whence he succeeded in passing over to Spain.

Whilst Tunis was in such a disturbed state, and the inhabitants tired of the tyranny of Hamida, they called the Algerines to liberate them from him. The rebel, abandoned by all, took two of his wives, with two children, and a part of his treasures, and fled. On his way he was attacked by robbers, who took all he had from him. Thus, with Hamida, terminates a series of Tunisian kings, who reigned for nearly four hundred years.

In 1570, Aluk-Ali, the governor of Algiers, took possession of Tunis in the name of the Grand Seignior ; but was the same year expelled by Don Giovanni of Austria.

In 1576, the Spaniards were expelled by Sultan

Selim II., who wrested the government from Philip, and put an entire end to the Moorish dynasty. The expedition was commanded by the famous Sinan. The Christians were all put to the sword, with the exception of fourteen who were sent in chains to Constantinople. The form of government now established was like that at Algiers, under a Basha, who was nominated by the Porte, and a large body of janizaries. At length, the people, who complained loudly of the tyranny exercised upon them by their new rulers, were permitted, after the manner of the Algerines, to elect their own Dey,—an office which approached nearer to royalty than that of Basha. Besides these two, there was a third officer, whose title was Bey: his business was to collect the revenues. These three officers were, to a certain extent, independent of each other; and being constantly at war together, they gave rise to a new revolution, which terminated in the Bey's receiving the supreme power.

In 1615, the office of Bey was exercised by Morad, who had been brought as a slave from the Corsican mountains, and sold to Sliman Bey. He was brought to Tunis at the age of nine years. His master got so much attached to him, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and appointed him his successor. Morad was of a mild disposition, prudent and wise; he knew so well to cultivate the friendship of the Dey and Basha, that he was even beloved by them.

Morad died in 1642, and was succeeded by his son Hamuda, who followed in the footsteps of his father.

His character was highly appreciated by the Sultan, who honoured him with the title of Basha. He restored the property which his predecessors had unjustly taken from his subjects, and in time of scarcity, his magazines were always open for the poor. Eighty Christian slaves were set at liberty at his death, in accordance with his last will.

It was during the reign of this prince that the famous attack was made upon Tunis by Admiral Blake, owing to the injuries inflicted on the commerce of England.* When the brave admiral demanded reparation, he was desired to look at the castles of Porto Farina and the Goletta, and do his worst. This challenge was sufficient for him : he drew his ships up close to the forts, and tore them in pieces with his artillery ; he then burnt every vessel that lay in the harbour, and with 1200 men he cut to pieces 30,000 Tunisians who opposed him. This took place in 1655.

Hamuda, who died about the year 1660, left two sons, Morad and Mohammed Laffis. Morad succeeded his father, and reigned till 1675. During his reign there were many disturbances in Tunis. He left three sons, Mohammed, Ali, and Ramdhan ; all of whom laid claim to the throne. The Divan, in order to avoid disturbances, confirmed the claim of their uncle, which induced Mohammed to endeavour to substantiate his right by force of arms, in which he succeeded. He mounted the throne ; but though Ramdhan remained quiet, Ali was determined not to be so ; and whilst the two brothers were thus

* Hume's History of England, vol. vii. p. 254.

disputing their rights, Laffis went to Constantinople, where he bought, for 600,000 dollars, the title of Basha of Tunis. Mohammed, disgusted of his life, retired to Kairwan, where he took the garb of a hermit; having left his only son with Ali, who held the office of Bey under his uncle. A report that his son was massacred brought him again, with a band of ruffians, to the gates of Tunis. Here, whilst he was again at war with his brother Ali, Mohammed Sceleby, who was then Dey, endeavoured to make the best use of their dissensions. He raised a force which only helped to ruin the two brothers, and did not advance his cause. The princes, through the assistance of the Algerines, became again masters of Tunis. Ali was soon after this restoration killed by some Algerine soldiers, which left Mohammed in possession of the throne.

In 1690, Mohammed was suddenly carried off by apoplexy, and his brother Ramdhan succeeded him. His mild character promised his subjects a tranquil reign; but their hopes were disappointed by the guilty ambition of his nephew Morad, who rebelled against him, and took away his life. This usurper was assassinated by Ibrahim Shareef, a Turk, in the month of June 1702. Ibrahim was by the people judged worthy of the succession; but as the fortune of war was unpropitious to him, he fell into the hands of the Algerines, and afterwards obtained his liberty only to lose his head. The army then elected Hassan Ben Ali, the grandson of a Greek renegade; and with this obscure per-

sonage originated the family which has held the sceptre of Tunis without interruption until the present day.*

Ahsen Ben Ali had a long and tranquil reign. In 1716 he concluded a new treaty with the English, the import of which was, that they should only pay in future 3 per cent. upon goods, either imported or exported; and that whenever the French should make any alteration in their treaty, the English should pay 2 per cent. less than they.

Amidst all the happiness of Ahsen Ben Ali, he was sometimes very miserable; and this was caused by his not having a successor to the throne. At last he determined to appoint his nephew, Ali Bey, as the lawful heir to the throne of Tunis. Of this he had soon to repent. A corsair entered the harbour, and had, amongst other slaves, a Genovese woman, whose beauty recommended her to the sovereign. He had great difficulty to induce her to embrace Mahommedanism, which, unless she did, her issue could not lay claim to succeed the father. She was at last prevailed upon to change her religion; and soon made Ahsen Ben Ali the father of three princes, Mohammed Bey, Mahmood, and Ali Bey. The nephew of the sovereign, seeing his expectations now blasted, went to Algiers, in the hope of making himself, through the assistance of the Algerines, master of Tunis. The Algerians, always ready to act against Tunis, assisted the ungrateful prince, who, through the influence of his

* Edinburgh Cabinet Library; Barbary States, p. 279.

uncle, had received the title of Basha from the Porte. The issue of a battle forced Ahsen Ben Ali to take refuge in Susa ; but he was pursued by the eldest son of Ali Basha, and was slain by him there. His three sons fled to Algiers. But Ali Basha did not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness : he had troubles from his own sons, who slew each other in quarrels about the succession. The sons of Ahsen Ben Ali found assistance from the Bey of Constantine through the influence of an Algerine Turk, Ali-Tekli. An army from Constantine entered Tunis, pillaged the city, placed Mohammed Bey, the eldest son of Ahsen Ben Ali, on the throne, and strangled the usurper, Ali Basha. Mohammed was a generous and virtuous prince ; but he reigned only two years and a half, and left two sons, Mahmood and Ismaain Bey.

As the sons of Mohammed were not of age, his brother, Ali Bey, succeeded him ; but with the promise of restoring the throne to his nephews. But this could hardly have been expected from him. He gained the affections of the young sons of Mohammed, who, at the death of their uncle, which took place in 1782, willingly consented that their cousin Hamuda should succeed.

Hamuda, who ascended the throne with the title of Basha, soon proved himself arrogant and ungrateful. He forgot those who were the means of placing him upon a throne, and even exhibited marks of cruelty towards them. He compelled Mahmood, with his two sons, Hussein and Mustafa, to leave the palace, and manage for a subsistence in the best way they

could. The most remarkable events which happened during the reign of Hamuda Basha II. were, first, the massacre of 500 Turks. These having observed that the sovereign endeavoured to diminish their power, conceived an idea of wresting the whole government from him, in which they failed. The Basha then gave orders to the Arabs to slay the Turks wherever they found them—an order which the Arabs were most happy to obey, as they had a good opportunity of revenging themselves on their oppressors. He had also several battles with the Algerians, Constantinians, and Tripolines, in which the Basha came off as conqueror. Hamuda's power was now generally respected; and whilst he was in the height of his glory, he was taken off by poison, in 1808, administered to him by Mariano and Josof, two of his confidential ministers. Josof was at first not suspected, but Mariano paid at once for his vile action with his life.

Hamuda Basha, though cruel, possessed the art of making himself, in spite of it, beloved by his subjects. His death was greatly deplored by all. Many are the wonderful exploits and actions recorded of this Basha.

Hamuda Basha was succeeded by his brother Othman, who only reigned three months. He was murdered in his bed by Mahmood, son of Ali Bey, who was legal heir to the throne. Salah and Ali, brothers of Othman, were also massacred by Mahmood's orders.

Mahmood mounted the throne of Tunis in 1808, with the title of Basha; and his eldest son, Hussein,

became Bey of the camp. Josof, the Sahab-et-tabâ, minister of the seal, who was one of the murderers of Hamuda Basha, received from Mahmood the reward due to him. New intrigues were discovered, for which he was strangled, and his corpse was most barbarously dragged about in the streets of Tunis. Josof erected a beautiful mosque, and several other public buildings.

In 1813, the Turks attempted again to restore their former power; and if it had not been for the assistance rendered to Mahmood by an English frigate, commanded by Captain Blaquieres, they would have gained their point.

Mahmood died in 1824, having reigned sixteen years, during which time he was respected and beloved by all his subjects. Hussein assumed the title of Basha, and his brother, Mustafa, became Bey of the camp.

The Sardinians had some difference with the state of Tunis; and, as they could get no satisfaction, they sent a fleet of fifteen vessels to demand it by force. Hussein was determined to have his own way, and accordingly made preparations to oppose the Sardinians. Besides the regular troops which he had at his command, (about 10,000,) it is said that about 15,000 Arabs made their appearance, to vent their fury upon the infidels. A. Tulin, Esq., consul-general for Sweden, and agent for H.M. the King of Prussia, told me that the Christian quarter was lined with the wild inhabitants of the desert; balls were flying in every direction. Whilst he stood at his window, an Arab fired at him, and the

ball passed within a very few inches of his head. This affair would, perhaps, have finished with great injury to the Christian population, if it had not been for timely interference. Benaiad, a very clever Moor, who had just returned from Paris, where he had been to transact business for the Basha, represented to him the impropriety of his proceedings. He told him of the superiority of the Christian mode of warfare. But this would not have had its effect, if Sir Thomas Reade, H.B.M. consul-general, had not interfered. His influence was (as it still is) so great, that he succeeded in establishing peace between the two nations.

Mustafa mounted the throne of Tunis after the death of Hussein, which happened in 1835, and Ahmed, son of the deceased Basha, took the title of Bey of the Camp. Nothing worthy of particular notice happened during the short reign of this Basha, except the death of Shekeer, the minister of the seal. This man conceived the idea of subverting the present government, of restoring the country to the Sultan as it was before, and of obtaining the Bashalic for himself. The whole was arranged in such a manner, that it showed the man to have possessed a mind of no ordinary kind. The plot, however, was discovered, and Shekeer atoned for it with his life.

Mustafa Basha died on the 10th of October 1837, and was succeeded by Ahmed, who is the reigning Bey of Tunis. Of his character, government, and proceedings, we shall speak in our present state of Tunis.

In giving a retrospective view of the rise and progress of the Saracens in Africa, which we have now endeavoured to describe, we find nothing but fanaticism, tyranny, villany, intrigue, and bloodshed. One tyrant succeeds another; one mode of government is subverted by another, which is either equally bad or worse: and all this is the effect of the spirit of their religion. In beholding the propagators of Mohammedanism, one is inclined to exclaim with Milton,—

O! what are these,
Death's ministers, not men? who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thousand fold the sin of him who slew
His brother; for of whom such massacre
Make they, but their brethren; men of men?

How different is the spirit of Christianity! Its genius is peace. Its Founder was predicted as the Prince of Peace. He was ushered into this world by heavenly beings, announcing, "Peace on earth, and good-will towards men." His apostles propagated the gospel of peace with peace. He himself was, and still is, a "peace-maker between an offended Creator and a rebellious world."

Bishop Sherlock draws a beautiful contrast between the character of Jesus and Mohammed:—"Go to your natural religion," says the learned prelate, "lay before her Mahomet and his disciples, arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the spoils of thousands, who fell by his victorious sword. Show her the cities which he set in flames, the countries which he ravaged and de-

stroyed, and the miserable distress of all the inhabitants of the earth. When she has viewed him in this scene, carry her into his retirements, show her the Prophet's chamber, his concubines and his wives, and let her see his adulteries, and hear him allege revelation and his divine commission to justify his lusts and his oppressions. When she is tired with this prospect, then show her the blessed Jesus, humble and meek, doing good to all the sons of men, patiently instructing the ignorant and the perverse. Let her see him in his most retired privacies; let her follow him to the Mount, and hear his devotions and supplications to God. Carry her to his table, to view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly discourse. Let her see him injured, but not provoked; let her attend him to the tribunal, and consider the patience with which he endured the scoffs and reproaches of his enemies. Lead her to his cross, and let her view him in the agonies of death, and hear his last prayer for his persecutors, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' When natural religion has viewed both, ask which is the prophet of God? But her answer we have already had, when she saw part of this scene through the eyes of the centurion who attended at the cross; by him she said, 'Truly this was the Son of God.'"

It must, however, be confessed, and that to our shame, that the name of Christ has been blasphemed amongst the Gentiles by the actions of those who bear his name. Often has the injured Jew, the

bereaved negro, and the bigoted Mohammedan, too justly asked,—

“Christians ! who’s the God you worship ?
Is he cruel, fierce, or good ?
Does he take delight in mercy ?
Or in spilling human blood ?”

But those who have been the cause of such inquiries, have no part nor lot in the matter ; they have never been partakers of the peace of which we have spoken. Let all who have a portion in it, and know how to appreciate it, pray that it may be proclaimed to the ends of the world, and that that time may soon draw nigh, when “the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.”

CHAPTER I.

John Gottlieb Krüger enlists in the Prussian army.—Is enticed to desert, and to proceed to Algiers.—Finds himself disappointed.—Badly treated in the French service.—His regiment ordered to Bugia.—Engagements with the Arabs.—Many desert.—Krüger does the same.—His mode of travelling.—Is obliged to enter a village in order to procure some food.—Is frightened, and goes away.—Spends the night upon a tree.—Is surprised by two Arabs.—They treat him kindly, and take him to a market-place.—A true description of the Arabs.—The people's astonishment at Krüger's appearance.

ONE of those cities, situated along that beautiful part of the Rhine which belongs to the kingdom of Prussia, is the native place of Johann Gottlieb Krüger, or, as we shall hereafter have to call him, Mohammed Ibn Abdallah Shareef. He was born of poor but respectable parents, and followed a common profession till his twentieth year, when he enlisted in the army of his native country, and served it faithfully for two years. At this time several French agents arrived at the place where his regiment was stationed, and entrapped him, with some other young men, by holding out to them glaring fortunes in Africa. Houses, gardens, and vineyards, were promised to them, and plenty of gold and silver, they were told, were lying in abundance in Africa; and it was only necessary for them

to cross the Mediterranean to become possessors of these fortunes.

Young and inexperienced, Krüger believed all this. To his great misfortune, he accepted the money which was offered him, and made the best of his way to Toulon ; thence, with some others, he proceeded to Algiers.

On his arrival at Algiers, he soon found out his mistake : instead of the many fine promises made to him, he could hardly find provisions for the money he had ; whilst he found himself no longer a free agent, but a slave.

Badly fed, clothed, and lodged, he lamented continually his misfortune, reproaching himself for the step he had taken, and only wished to return to his native country—a wish, alas ! which he saw was not so easily to be effected.

A few months after the capture of Bugia, the Foreign Legion, in which Krüger served, consisting of Poles, Prussians, and Austrians, was sent off to this city. He had now some hope of bettering his condition ; but in this, also, he found himself greatly disappointed.

On their arrival at Bugia, after having been exposed to the rain and cold, with little food, they found the whole town in ruins ; not one inhabitant in it, except the garrison soldiers, who were almost starved. Here Krüger, with his companions, took up their quarters in the empty and deserted houses, where they procured some wood, and lit fires to dry their clothes, which were as if soaked in the water. After this, they were obliged to lie down on the

bare floor, with empty stomachs ; and in this misery they spent the first night at Bugia. On the following morning they obtained some provisions from the transport which brought them here ; and on the same day, the 29th of January 1834, their first engagement took place with the Arabs, which was afterwards daily repeated. In these skirmishes, some of both sides were generally killed and wounded. But the Arabs grew bolder every day, so that the French had hard work to keep them at a distance.

The garrison at Bugia depended upon Algiers for their provisions, and all other necessaries, as the Arabs would bring nothing to market. Owing to the almost constant contrary winds, which are prevalent in these parts during the winter seasons, no vessel arrived from Algiers for some time ; so that the poor Bugian troops were driven to the utmost extremities for want of the common subsistence of life. Add to this, hard service, no pay, and bad treatment from superior officers,—it is no wonder that discontent made its way amongst the soldiers, and induced many rather to take refuge amongst their enemies, the Arabs, from whom they had to expect nothing but barbarity, than to serve *a civilized nation, into whose service they had been enticed*. Krüger also made up his mind to embrace the first and best opportunity to effect his escape.

On the 28th of March 1834, he prepared some food, and at about ten o'clock at night left Bugia, and took his course towards the desert. He travelled the whole of that night, and on the morning he looked out for a place where he might rest during the day,

unobserved by the Arabs. This precaution he was induced to observe, out of fear that the Arabs, upon discovering him, might kill him, or bring him back to Bugia, and deliver him to the French commander, for which the Arabs were rewarded with 100 francs. In this manner our deserter proceeded for several days, when his food began to fail, which constrained him, in spite of all apprehensions of danger, to enter a village that he saw a little way off. But by the time he reached it, night had come on, and he found all the inhabitants wrapped in deep sleep. But here again the fear of his being amongst his enemies, and the barking of some hundreds of dogs, which are kept by the Arabs to prevent the wild beasts approaching their tents, forced him to quit the village. The night was dark and gloomy: the rain came down in torrents; the thunder pealed through the air; and the flashes of lightning were running along the ground in such a manner, that at some moments it appeared as if the whole neighbourhood had been doomed by heaven to destruction. Krüger had not gone a great distance from the village, when to all this was added a terrible roaring of wild beasts; and as he happened to be near a high tree, he climbed up, and spent the whole night upon it. As the morning approached, the weather gradually cleared up, and in a short time there were hardly any traces left of the dreadful weather of the night. He now descended from the tree, fatigued and hungry, and laid down to refresh himself by sleep, from which he was awakened by a voice more terrible to him

than the roaring of wild beasts : it was the voice of the greatest enemy of man—*I mean the voice of men !* He started up, and, to his great terror, beheld, at a short distance from him, two Arabs, well armed, coming towards him. Suddenly, one of them, on observing him, stopped short, and began to level his gun at him. Krüger cried aloud ; on hearing his cries, the Arab desisted, and approached him. Krüger, as may naturally be supposed, was greatly terrified, and expected that moment would be his last ; but the Arabs had no bad intention : the French uniform which Krüger wore seemed to have frightened them, as they gave him afterwards to understand. They thought he resembled much more a wild animal than a human being. The Arabs were on their way to a market-place, which was about three miles off ; they, therefore, asked Krüger to go with them. On the way, they gave him dates and bread to eat, and in every respect treated him very kindly.

The Arab's character has, by some authors, been represented as very hospitable and kind ; whilst by others it has been represented as inhuman, cruel, and selfish. How persons could be so vastly mistaken, in forming the character of a whole people, must be very surprising to many ; but this, I have no doubt, will appear to them much more so, when they are told, that these two qualities, so diametrically opposed to each other, are so combined in the Arab, that persons, (and that even of a sharp penetration,) except they have lived amongst them for a considerable time, are very liable to form con-

trary opinions of them. The same Arab who will to-night lodge you under his tent, defend you from your enemies, and treat you in the kindest manner possible, will, on the following morning, rob you of your property, ill-treat you, and, in case of your resistance, deprive you even of your life ! I might enumerate examples to corroborate this my assertion ; but I hope to convince my readers of it in the course of this work.

The Bedouin—sometimes written Bedowin, Beduin, or Bedoween—is a corruption of the Arabic word which signifies “one who is without a fixed residence,” and is appropriated to the Arabs who are travelling in the deserts of Arabia and North Africa. They trace their descent back to Ismael, of which they are very proud. They do not intermarry with other tribes, and uniformly prefer a poor man out of their brethren to a rich stranger, except he be a *convert to their religion*. The Bedouin Arabs live always in tents in those places where they can find water, and pasturage for their cattle. Each tribe is considered to have an exclusive property in a district, the extent and value of which is proportional to the strength and importance of the tribe, and which is generally large, affording sufficient room for the migrations, which are indispensable among a people whose subsistence is chiefly derived, through their cattle, from the spontaneous produce of the barren regions they inhabit. The personal appearance of these desert-Arabs varies as to the parts they inhabit ; generally speaking, however, they may be described as a middle-sized and

rather thin race of men, with brown complexions, and strong black hair. The muscles of their limbs are strongly developed; their strength, alertness, and activity, are very great; but their power of abstinence, and endurance of fatigue, are still more remarkable. They can often travel four or five days without tasting water, under circumstances in which a European would die in two days. Their sight is, generally speaking, so excellent, that they can distinguish the smallest object at a considerable distance. They shave their head, leaving only a long lock on the crown of the head, which they believe Mohammed will cut off for them at his reappearance, or, as others say, by which the pseudo-prophet is to pull them up to heaven.

Their dress consists of a shirt; a barnoose, or a kind of cloak; a head-dress, or turban, which is generally fastened with a rope of camel's hair; and sandals. The shirt is made of coarse cotton, and worn till nothing remains of it, without its ever being washed; the consequence is, that they are always troubled with the *third* plague of Pharaoh, the destroying of which affords them some occupation during a great part of the day.

The women's dress differs from that of the men, in that, instead of the barnoose or cloak, they wear a kind of blue frock without sleeves, which is fastened in a peculiar manner. They are fond of ornaments, and, in the absence of gold and silver ones, they will hang about their person pieces of brass, bones, iron, shells, and curious stones, which they pick up in the desert. These they hang around

their neck, arms, and wrists. The children go for the most part naked.

The Bedouins encamp near some rivulet or well, where they remain until their cattle have consumed the herbage. But when, as it sometimes happens, good pasturage occurs where no water is to be had, they abstain from water for several weeks together. They drink only milk; their cattle are also able, with the exception of horses, to dispense with water so long as they can get green and juicy herbage. For the horses they are often obliged to kill camels, to obtain the water which these animals retain in their stomachs. The encampments vary in the number of tents, and the form in which they are arranged varies according to circumstances, and the season of the year. When the tents are few in number, they are usually pitched in a circle; but more commonly in straight lines when numerous, particularly if the encampment is formed near a rivulet. In winter, when abundance of water and herbage renders concentration unnecessary, the camp is dispersed over the plain in groups of three or four tents, about a mile or a mile and a half asunder. When the camp is together, near the only water in the vicinity, the cattle are sent out under the care of shepherds and slaves, and are brought back every evening. But if they prolong their stay beyond a few days, the flocks and herds are sent out to a considerable distance, and are only brought back to the tents every second or third day for water.

Having made these observations, which I thought

necessary before Krüger comes into closer connection with the wild inhabitants of the desert, and blind followers of Mohammed, I shall now return to our more immediate subject.

The two Arabs brought him to the market-place, where multitudes of people were gathered together selling various merchandize, who, instead of attending to the sale of their articles, surrounded the stranger, examining him from head to foot, *smelling his hair* and clothes, and greatly wondered when they heard him speak a language which they did not understand. After their curiosity had partly been satisfied, Krüger made signs to them that he was very hungry, and that he could not live upon their curiosity, which they no sooner comprehended, than they brought him food enough to last him for three days. The men, women, and children, who brought him the provision, sat around him, and anxiously watched his manner of eating.

CHAPTER II.

He is taken to the chief's house.—Annoyed by the people.—Entertains them.—A strange Arab visits the chief.—His conversation with Krüger.—Says that the inhabitants of the village sent him to behead Krüger.—Leaves and tells Krüger to prepare himself for death.—Krüger describes his own state of mind.—He is taken early the following morning to the market-place, where a very great crowd is gathered.—Saves his life by embracing Mohammedanism.—Mohammed's account of Christ.—Reports of the French conquests on the coast reach the Arabs.—They are encouraged by a priest to go and assist their brethren.—They attack the French, and are defeated.—The priests make use of Mohammed's doctrines of fate and destiny to encourage them to another attack.—Their cowardice.—Sidy Ali slays all infidels.—All return to their respective homes.

TOWARDS evening, the Arabs took him into a house, where a kind of bed was prepared for him, consisting of a straw mat and a sheep-skin, on which Krüger looked as if it had been a bed of the finest down, having been exposed for some days to the severity of the weather, without proper food, and, besides, having undergone great fatigues. He, therefore, flattered himself with a comfortable night's rest. But the Arabs, curious, and ever fond to hear some extraordinary tales, regardless of their being true, soon introduced themselves; and though Krüger knew only a few words of Arabic, they requested

him, by signs and other means, to entertain them. The *Agib*, or the wonderful man, as they called him, did his best ; and though he thought he failed in the attempt, yet they seemed highly gratified. The house (if it may be so called) belonged to the chief, who also took, or seemed to take, a great interest in the stranger.

Whilst Krüger was thus entertaining his audience, there entered a tall and strong-looking Arab, who, after having had a short conversation with the chief, to which the people paid great attention, approached Krüger, and saluted him in the French language ; which Krüger, almost fancying himself again amongst civilized people, returned with emotions of great joy. The Arab told him, that he had been to the coast, and had intercourse with the French, whom, he said, he hated from the bottom of his heart. This gave poor Krüger great uneasiness, as it was useless to tell the Arabs that he was a Prussian, and had been enticed into the French service ; this Arab took him for a Frenchman and their enemy, and would listen to no explanations. The other Arabs were soon of their countryman's opinion ; and though they knew nothing more of the French than what this Arab told them, (as the conquests of the French on the coast had not reached them,) they believed them to be the enemies of the Mohammedans, and consequently also theirs. Krüger had now to expect the treatment of an enemy. The Arab left him for a short time, and when he returned, he addressed him in these words :—" I am very sorry to be the messenger of

bad tidings ; behold this new sword with which I am requested by the inhabitants of this village to sever thy head from thy body ; and behold this new pot which is to contain it ! ” How Krüger must have felt at hearing these words, can much easier be imagined than described. He, however, gathered up all his strength and courage, and asked, whether this operation was to take place immediately ; and if so, as all resistance was useless, he begged his executioner to do his duty as quick as possible. But the Arab calmly told him “ to sleep *quietly* that night, as he could delay his duty till the following morning.” After he had said this, he remained yet a few minutes with Krüger, expressing his sorrow for the fate that awaited him, and driving the people out of the room, left the unfortunate man to himself.

I cannot do better than give the reader Krüger’s own words of the state of his mind at this critical moment. In relating this melancholy adventure to a friend, he said :—“ Being left to myself in the room, I had at least an opportunity to reflect more seriously on my situation. I lifted up my heart unto God, whom I was persuaded I had greatly offended in all my actions, from my very youth until now. I could see clearly that the *steps* I had taken were not in accordance with his divine will. I could clearly see the errors I had committed ; and, therefore, addressed my God in these words : ‘ O Lord God ! how great and manifold are the sins which I have committed against thee, from the days of my youth up to this hour ! How often did

I kindle thy wrath against me ! How many weeks, months, and years, have I lived in forgetfulness of thee, and never even bowed my knees before thy throne of grace, imploring thy mercy and pardon ! But now, O merciful God ! who art ready to forgive the sins of the penitent, have mercy upon me, thy unworthy servant, now before thee, and deal not with me according to my works, but according to thy great and tender mercies. Forgive me, O Lord, all my sins ! and if it be thy holy will that I should lay down my life in this place, I entreat thee to receive me into thy kingdom, and to number me amongst those whose sins have been forgiven, and whose robes have been washed, and made clean in the blood of the Lamb. Hear me, O Lord ! and answer me, through thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen ! ”

After this prayer Krüger felt quite resigned to his fate ; however, he could not sleep the whole of that night. Early the following morning many of the village people collected in his room till about six A. M., when they led him to the market-place ; and the mob, greater than the preceding day, pressed upon him in such a manner that he could hardly make his way. In this state he remained till ten A. M., expecting every moment to see his executioner ; but instead of him, an old Dervish, a saint-priest, with a large stick in his hand, beating the people in every direction, pressed through the crowd till he approached Krüger. The old Dervish took him by the hand, and brought him to a large tree, where he made him sit down, and

taking the European cap off Krüger's head, he placed instead of it a turban. He then sent one of his men for clothes, and dressed him in the Mohammedan costume. Krüger as yet knew not what the man was going to do with him; he thought these were preparations for his execution, and indeed they were preparations for the execution, not of his body, but of his soul. He little knew that he was going to deny his Faith, his Saviour, and his God; Him to whom he but a few hours before prayed in his distress, and to whom he dedicated both his soul and body. Yes, Krüger was about denying his religion, and embracing that of the false prophet.

Hitherto he might have pleaded ignorance of what he was going to do; but this he could do no more,—when the priest told him, that by embracing the Mohammedan faith, and denying his Saviour, and his God, he would save his life. The priest told him this, and in spite of the compunctions of his conscience, he submitted to all the formalities, and pronounced these words before a large assembly of Arabs: “*Ash-hado innaho la Ela, illa Allah, wa-ash-hado innaho Seedna Mohammed rasool Allah.*” Which words are: “I testify that there is no God but God; and I also testify that our Lord Mohammed is the apostle of God.”* This he did after

* The pronouncing of these words, according to some, is sufficient to constitute one a Mohammedan. Many have been entrapped by fanatic Mohammedans, who, in the hope of obtaining a greater share of the enjoyments in heaven, enticed young and inexperienced people to pronounce the

having had his hands and feet washed by the priest in the same manner as the Mohammedans do before prayer, with his right hand lifted towards heaven ; thus calling heaven and earth as witnesses of the sincerity of his profession. His life was indeed spared him ; but “when men take sinful means to avoid calamities, these very ways often bring them.” This we shall see realized in the history of our apostate. After Krüger had made a public profession of his faith in the Mohammedan religion, the priest took hold of him, kissed him, and addressed him in these words :—“Now you are our brother ; fear nobody, for cursed will that man be who will

creed before two witnesses ; and woe unto those who, after having done it, dare to apostatize ! Nothing but their head would atone for it. As I shall not have an opportunity to enter into all particulars of the Mohammedan religion, the following few remarks may not be out of place here :—Mohammedanism, or Islamism, is divided into two parts—the speculative and the practical part of divinity. The former is commonly called faith, and the latter practical religion. The following is a synopsis of the speculative part—1. The unity of God. 2. That there are angels ; their nature and office. 3. That there are 404 divine books, in which the Old and New Testaments are included. 4. That there were 124,000 prophets ; 313 of these were ambassadors, and six who have formed new constitutions, viz., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, who is the seal of all. 5. That there will be a day of resurrection and of judgment, when the believers will be rewarded, and the infidels be thrown into hell, where they will remain for ever. Believers who have done wrong will also go to hell, but they will not remain there for ever. That whatever happeneth, good or evil, is according to the decrees of God. The practical part is divided—1. Lustration. 2. Prayer. 3. Alms. 4. Fasts. And, 5. The Pilgrimage to Mecca.

do you any harm ; yea, who will even with words insult you : be of good cheer."

In embracing Mohammedanism, the convert continues to believe in Jesus Christ ; but his belief must be according to the Koran. Mohammed's account of Christ may be seen from the following extracts from his pretended revelation :—"Remember, when the wife of Imram said, ' Lord, verily, I have vowed unto thee, that which is in my womb to be dedicated to thy service : accept it, therefore, of me ; for thou art he who heareth and knoweth.' And when she was delivered of it, she said, ' Lord, verily, I have brought forth a female, (for God well knew what she had brought forth,) and a male is not as a female ; I have called her Mary, and I commend her to thy protection, and also her issue, against Satan driven with stones,' [by Abraham]. Therefore, the Lord accepted her with a gracious acceptance, and caused her to bear an excellent offspring. And Zacharias took care of the child : whenever Zacharias went into the chamber to her, he found provisions with her ; and said, ' O Mary ! whence hast thou this ? ' She answered, ' This is from God ; for God provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure.' Then Zacharias called on his Lord, and said, ' Lord, give me from thee a good offspring ; for thou art the hearer of prayer.' And the angel called to him while he stood praying in the chamber, saying, ' Verily, God promiseth thee a son, named John, who shall bear witness to the Word which cometh from God ; an honourable person, chaste, and one

of the righteous prophets.' He answered, 'Lord, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me, and my wife is barren?' The angel said, 'So God doth that which he pleaseth.' Zacharias answered, 'Lord, give me a sign.' The angel said, 'Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no man for three days, otherwise than by gesture: remember thy Lord often, and praise him evening and morning.'

"And when the angel said, 'O Mary, verily God hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above all the women of the world: O Mary, be devout towards thy Lord, and worship, and bow down. This is a secret history: we reveal it unto thee, although thou wast not present with them when they threw in their rods to cast lots which of them should have the education of Mary; neither wast thou with them when they strove among themselves.' When the angel said, 'O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself; his name shall be Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary, honourable in this world, and in the world to come; and one of those who approach near to the presence of God; and he shall speak unto men in the cradle, and when he is grown up; and he shall be one of the righteous:' she answered, 'Lord, how shall I have a Son, since a man hath not touched me?' The angel said, 'So God createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is.

God shall teach him the Scriptures, and wisdom, and the Law, and the Gospel; and shall appoint him his apostle to the children of Israel; and he shall say, Verily, I come unto you with a sign from your Lord; for I will make before you of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird; then will I breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of God: and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth, and the leper: and I will raise the dead by the permission of God: and I will prophesy unto you what you eat, and what ye lay up in store in your houses. Verily, herein will be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And I come to confirm the law which was revealed before me; and to allow unto you as lawful part of that which hath been forbidden you: and I come unto you with a sign from your Lord; therefore, fear God, and obey me. Verily, God is my Lord and your Lord; therefore, serve him. This is the right way.' But when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, 'Who will be my helpers towards God?' The apostles answered, 'We will be the helpers of God; we believe in God, and do thou bear witness that we are true believers. O Lord, we believe in that which thou hast sent down, and we have followed thy apostle; write us down, therefore, with those who bear witness of him.' And the Jews devised a stratagem against him; but God devised a stratagem against them; and God is the best deviser of stratagems. When God said unto Jesus, 'Verily, I will cause thee to die, and I will

take thee up unto me, and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers ; and I will place those who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection ; then unto me shall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye disagree. Moreover, as for the infidels, I will punish them with a grievous punishment in this world, and in that which is to come ; and there shall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give them their reward ; for God loveth not the wicked doers. These signs, and this prudent admonition, do we rehearse unto thee. Verily, the likeness of Jesus, in the sight of God, is as the likeness of Adam : he created him out of the dust, and then said unto him, ' Be, and he was.'—*Koran*, c. iii.

" The Jews said, ' We have slain Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary ; yet they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness ; and verily, they who disagreed concerning him were in a doubt as to this matter, and had no sure knowledge thereof, but followed only an uncertain tradition. They did not really kill him ; but God took him up unto himself, and God is mighty and wise. Verily, Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his Word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him. Believe, therefore, in God and his apostles, and say not there are three Gods ; forbear this, it will be better for you ; God is but one God. Far be it from him that he should have

a Son; Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God.'—c. iv.

"And when God shall say unto Jesus at the last day, 'O Jesus, Son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, take me and my mother for two gods beside God?' He shall answer, 'Praise be unto thee; it is not for me to say that which I ought not; if I had said so, thou wouldst surely have known it. I have not spoken unto them any other than that thou didst command me; worship God, my Lord and your Lord.'"—c. v.

Such is the absurd account of the history of our Lord, as given by the arch apostate, Mohammed. His deluded followers believe that Christ will come again previous to the last day, in order to make them masters of the whole world.

The following is the genealogy of Christ, as given by some Mohammedan commentators, which, though incorrect in point of chronology, is not altogether uninteresting:—

1. Jesus.	15. Salmon.	29. Phaleg.
2. Mary.	16. Abouan.	30. Shaleg.
3. Imram.	17. Imram.	31. Arphachsad.
4. Mathan.	18. Daram, (Ram.)	32. Sem.
5. Philicos.	19. Amron.	33. Noah.
6. Jehosha.	20. Kar.	34. Lamech.
7. Asa.	21. Juda.	35. Methusala.
8. Abia.	22. Jacob.	36. Enoch, (Idris.)
9. Rehaboam.	23. Isaac.	37. Jered.
10. Solomon.	24. Abraham.	38. Mahaleil.
11. David.	25. Azer.	39. Kainan.
12. Jesse, (Esche.)	26. Nahor.	40. Eños.
13. Obed, (Oun.)	27. Serug.	41. Seth.
14. Boas, (Ziahar.)	28. Argan.	42. Adam.

The name of Christ is mentioned by Mohammedans with very great reverence. They call him "The Word of God," "The Spirit of God;" and, with the exception of Mohammed, "The greatest of all the prophets."

After the priest had addressed Krüger according to the above manner, the people behaved very kindly towards him; and he remained with them till he could make himself understood in the Arabic language. They daily came to the chief, with whom Krüger lived, to inquire after the religious ceremonies, manners, and customs, of the Christians, in which he always tried to satisfy them.

The taking of Bugia by the French seemed hitherto unknown to the Arabs in these parts; but now the news reached them, and they determined to go and assist their brethren. Accordingly, all the men of the village, who were capable of carrying arms, were gathered together; and one of the priests addressed them, encouraging them to fight (as they called it) the battle of the Lord with all their might, reminding them of the honours and pleasures they would enjoy in heaven if they killed many infidels, and that if even they were slain in the battle, their bodies would not *stink*, and their death would only be the door to enter heaven! "Besides," said the priest, "you ought to remember that it is the Lord who fights for you." After this oration, the people separated, every one returning to his respective home, to prepare himself for the departure of the following morning.

At daybreak, and at the hour appointed, all the

village, and many of the neighbouring villages, amounting to about two thousand, collected themselves together: some mounted on horses; others on mules, camels, and donkeys; others were on foot, amongst whom was also Krüger. When all was arranged, they departed for Bugia; and, after many fatigues, they reached their destination.

The army (if they may so be called) encamped about two miles off Bugia; and on the morning after their arrival, some of the Arabs went as near to the town as possible, and challenged the French to come out and fight with them in the plains, which was immediately accepted. But when the engagement took place, and the Arabs saw some of their party dead and scattered in all directions, a panic broke out amongst them, and all fled towards the desert, cursing and swearing at the French, and at the priests who deceived them. "Where," said they to the priests, "is Sidy Ali, who promised with his *great sword* to fight the infidels? You have deceived us, and it is entirely your fault that so many of our brave warriors have fallen by the hands of the infidels. Their blood be upon your heads!"

In the night, many of the Arabs went back to the field of battle to inter their relations.

On the following morning, the priests collected the people again together, and one of them preached a long sermon, in which he tried to reconcile the poor Arabs to their misfortune of the preceding day. He told them that those that died in the battle would as certainly have died if they had remained at home with their families. That all

was *destiny*, and that man cannot alter what God has ordained. He reminded them of the example which they have in their Prophet's battle with Abu Sophian, which was fought in the third year of Hegira,* near Medina, in which the Prophet's army was almost entirely routed, Abdallah his lieutenant killed, and the Prophet himself severely wounded.

This defeat was almost the overthrow of Mohammed's cause, when he most cunningly invented the doctrine of *Fate* and *Destiny*, of which his priest now availed himself. Mohammed, at the time referred to, said:—"No person could die one hour, or one minute, sooner or later than was decreed by heaven. That this necessarily followed from the certain and infallible foreknowledge of God, according to which all things inevitably happen, in all the circumstances of time, place, and manner, in which they were eternally foreknown." But in cases where this argument would not do, the Impostor told them he could not conquer because of the sins and unbelief of many of his followers: and in such a manner, he satisfied the complaints of those who had lost their friends or relations in this battle.

The Mohammedans are so much governed by this doctrine of Fate and Destiny, that the priests had but little trouble to engage their blind followers for another attack upon their enemies. Accordingly, they all returned towards Bugia, fully determined to extirpate the French; but no sooner were they again in sight of their enemies, than their courageous determinations were

* A. D. 624.

changed into a pusillanimous fear, and all of them determined rather to return to their families than fight the infidels. But not to return altogether like *cowards*, one of the priests, an old man of about ninety years of age, took a large stick into his hands, blessed it, and pretended to load it as a gun; he then called the attention of the people, and, with a loud shriek, he did as if he fired it off towards Bugia, after which, clapping his hands for joy, he said to the people,—“Now all infidels are dead! Sidy Ali, the *lieutenant* of our Prophet, has made an end of them; we may now, with gladness, return to our respective homes: they will no more disturb us. God has taken up our cause.”

When this old man had finished his oration, the people seated themselves on the ground, partook of some food, and offered thanksgivings to God for the mercy shown them in destroying their enemies. This finished, a priest rose, read the Fatiha,* blessed the Mohammedans, and cursed all infidels and unbelievers; after which they all separated, each party returning to their respective homes; Krüger also, with his people, returned to Tremry, the name of the village from which all had set out.

* The Fatiha is the introductory chapter of the Koran. It is a kind of prayer, and is as frequently used among Mohammedans as the Lord's Prayer among Christians. It runs thus:—“Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship; and of Thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray.”

CHAPTER III.

Krüger goes to Chifza.—Is liked by the people there.—Their anxiety to hear news from Europe.—One old man is particularly pleased with him.—The Moadsan calls to prayer.—A Description of Mohammedan prayers and lustrations.—The attributes of God.—Mohammed's injunctions for prayer.—The strictness with which they are obeyed urged as an example for Christians.—The old man takes Krüger to his house.—Instructs him in the Mohammedan religion.—Produces the Koran as a miracle.—Refutation.

KRUGER was now better acquainted with the customs and manners of the Arabs; he also could make himself understood in the Arabic language; and as he thought he had found out *the key* how to pass unmolested amongst them, (viz., by repeating their creed, and thus passing for a Mohammedan,) he determined to leave Tremry, and travel from one tribe to another. Accordingly, one day he made the acquaintance of a respectable-looking Arab, by name Farhal Ben Mosa, who was from a village called Chifza. This Arab requested Krüger to go with him to his home, and live with him. His general appearance pleased Krüger, and, as there was nothing to detain him longer in Tremry, he at once consented. They departed the same day, and reached their destination after a fatiguing journey of three days.

The arrival of the new convert to the Moham-

medan faith became soon known among the people of Chifza ; for Farhal spared no trouble to let his countrymen know what jewel he had brought with him. The day after Krüger's arrival at Chifza, many of the inhabitants, of all sexes and ages, came to him to hear some news from *Bar Nassara*, or the land of the Christians. Towards evening, they brought him to a tree, where they all seated themselves, enjoying the cool air, and at the same time eagerly listening to Krüger's tales.

Amongst this audience there was one old man, a sort of saint, who listened more attentively than the rest, and who seemed to take a great interest in Krüger. But whilst they were thus engaged, the *moadsan*, or clerk, called the people to their *fourth prayer*; at the hearing of which, though they were all so interested in what Krüger related them, yet they arose, and went to perform their devotions. Instances of this kind ought to make the Christian blush. How few do we find who would imitate the example of these benighted and ignorant Mohammedans ! But this will appear more forcibly, when the reader is told that the Mohammedan is obliged to attend *public* prayer no less than *five* times daily. He may perform these prayers at home, or anywhere else, but it must be at a stated time.

The Mohammedan's first prayer is in the morning before sunrise ; 2. When the sun begins to decline from the meridian ; 3. In the afternoon before sunset ; 4. An hour in the evening after sunset ; 5. At midnight.

These prayers are attended with many incon-

veniences, as the Mohammedan must, before prayer, undergo a kind of lustration, or purification, which, except he perform *rightly*, he dare not pray. The purification consists of washing the face, the hands up to the arms, and the feet up to the ankles and legs; gargling the throat, and washing the mouth and nose; wiping the head and the neck. In *certain* instances, which decency prevents me from mentioning, they are obliged to bathe their whole body before they can offer prayer. Every part of the purification is accompanied with short prayers. When they happen to be in a place where they can obtain no water, these ceremonies are performed with sand, or earth. They may also, in case of necessity, rub the palm of the hand against a stone, and then, with the hand, go over those parts of the body which are commanded to be purified.

The prayer consists of reciting certain repetitions, and performing certain gestures, which vary according to the time of prayer. To give the reader an idea of them, I shall briefly describe one of their services; but, before doing so, I may just state, that the Mohammedans are commanded to turn their faces, while they pray, towards the temple of Mecca. The quarter where the same is situated is pointed out in their mosques by an altar, called *mohrab*.

After the purification, the Mohammedan enters the mosque, at the door of which he takes his shoes or slippers off, and when all the people are assembled, the *Emam*, or priest, goes to his place, in the front of the congregation, upon equal ground with them, where he turns his face to the *mohrab*, so

that his back is to the people. The moadsan, or clerk, stands upon a kind of platform, from which he observes the motions of the priest, and signifies the same to the people.

The first thing the clerk does, is to advertise the people to read the *Fatha*, or the opening, being the first chapter of the Koran. After this, many gestures and short prayers are performed by the priest, in which, by the direction of the clerk, he is more or less imitated by the people. They then repeat these words on their knees about seven times—*Alhamdo lillahi Alkabeer*, i. e., Praise be to the great God. After this, they prostrate themselves to the earth, and say twice, *Glory be to thee, my exalted Lord!* Then they rise, and repeat again the *Fatha*, as also some other portions of the Koran, and perform again certain prostrations and bowings.

This finished, they kneel down, and repeat this prayer:—"Celebrations, benedictions, and all good things be to God; and peace, divine mercy, and benediction be unto thee, O Prophet! Upon us also, and upon the righteous servants of God, be peace. I bear witness that there is no other God but God, and I bear witness that Mohammed is his servant and apostle." After this the *Fatha* is again repeated, and certain bowings performed. They next use this prayer:—"O our God! be propitious to Mohammed and his family, as thou hast been propitious to Abraham and his family; and do thou bless and be merciful to Mohammed and his family, as thou hast been to Abraham and his family, O our Lord! because thou art praiseworthy and glorious."

When they have concluded this short prayer, they salute their guardian angels, in a kneeling position, with the words, "Peace be upon you, O angels!" and then offer this short prayer—"Hear us, and grant us thy indulgence, for unto thee all things must return." Next they recite these words out of the Koran, from the *Surat el Bakra*, or the Sura of the Cow:—"As to God, there is no god but himself, living, subsisting; neither drowsiness nor sleep take hold of him; whatsoever is in heaven, and whatsoever is in earth, is his. Who is he that can intercede with him without his leave? He knows everything that is before their hands, and everything that is behind them; yet they shall not comprehend anything of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. Heaven and earth are his throne, and the keeping of them gives him no trouble."

In conclusion, the Emam, or priest, turns his face towards the people, who are all upon their knees, and takes out his Sibha, or rosary,* which

* Mr Taylor, in the Appendix to his "History of Mohammedanism," says the rosary of the Mussulman "is composed of ninety-nine small and one large bead; with each an attribute of God is recited, except the last. In Arabic, all, or nearly all, the attributes are expressed by a single word, a peculiarity which it is impossible to preserve in a translation:—"O Compassionate! O Merciful! O King! O Holy One! O Saviour! O Protector! O Defender! O Glorious! O Absolute Sovereign! O Magnificent! O Creator! O Author of Nature! O Maker of the Universe! O Thou who forgivest sins! O Conqueror! O Truly Generous! O Preserver! O Victorious! O Omniscent! O Omnipotent! O Boundless! O Humbler of the proud!

consists of ninety-nine beads, every thirty-three of which have a partition. He then says for the first thirty-three, *Subhan Allah*, Glorified be God; for the next thirty-three he says, *Alhamdo lillahi*, Praise to God; and for the last thirty-three he says, *Tibarik Allah*, Blessed be God. This done, the priest and people smooth down their faces and beards several

O Elevator of the humble! O Author of all honour! O Author of all humiliation! O Thou who hearest! O Thou who seest! O Judge! O Just! O Thou worthy of love! O Truly Wise! O Great! O Gracious! O Rewarder of thy servants! O Most Mighty! O Most High! O Guardian! O Thou who affordest nourishment! O Avenger! O Sublime! O Beneficent! O Observer of actions! O Hearer of prayer! O Boundless! O Source of knowledge! O Source of Glory! O Thou that lovest us! O Cause of all causes! O Witness! O Truth! O Governor! O Strong! O Permanent! O Master! O Object of our praises! O Thou that calledst being from nothing! O Calculator! O Author of the Resurrection! O Giver of life! O Giver of death! O Living One! O Enduring! O Source of discovery! O Worthy of all honour! O Thou Holy One! O Immortal! O Powerful! O Thou to whom nothing is impossible! O Thou who existest before all ages! O Thou who existest after all time! O First of Beings! O Ancient of days! O Eternal! O Invisible! O Manifest! O our Patron! O our Benefactor! O Thou who dost accept our repentance! O Thou who dost justify us! O Thou who dost punish! O Benign! O Sovereign of Nature! O Possessor of glory and majesty! O Equitable! O Thou who wilt reassemble us at the day of judgment! O Rich! O Source of Riches! O Lord! O Thou who dost deliver us from evil! O Thou who dost permit evil to come! O Author of all good! O Illuminator! O Guide! O Marvellous! O Unchangeable! O Thou whose inheritance is the Universe! O Director! O Patient! O Mild! And the hundredth is, O God!"

times with their hands, when they all separate, and thus their service is concluded.

Mohammed's injunctions for prayer are very decisive: he said, "Prayer is the pillar of religion, and he who forsakes prayer overthrows religion." His followers, it must be confessed, are very strict in obeying his precepts. Those who have travelled in Mohammedan countries will, I am sure, be convinced of this. They are also commanded not to put on sumptuous apparel when they are addressing themselves to God, but to lay them aside. Let Christians take these benighted followers of the false prophet for their example in these instances; for their Lord has not commanded them to pray five times a-day only, but "to pray without ceasing." And let them remember, that if Mohammedans can be induced to pray, how much more ought they, who have the assurance of their Heavenly Father, that He will be in the midst of them when they pray, hear their prayers, and answer them.

I forgot to mention, that as the Mohammedans have no bells attached to their *gjema*, or church, the *moadsan*, or clerk, calls the people to prayer from the turret of the mosque, the gate, or from some other place raised for that purpose. He calls them with these words:—"God is great, God is great. I bear witness that there is no God but God himself, I bear witness that there is no God but God himself. I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God, I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of God. Run ye to prayers, run ye to

worship. God is great, God is great. There is no God besides God." For the morning prayer these words are added, "Prayer is better than sleep, Prayer is better than sleep." But to return.

They all prayed, apparently, with great devotion; and when they had finished, the above-mentioned old man sat down near Krüger, and asked him to repeat the Mohammedan creed, which he did. This pleased the old man so much, that he took hold of him, kissed him, and begged him to remain in his house as long as Chifza should be his place of residence; and to show Krüger that he was in real earnest, he took him home immediately.

This old man did all in his power to make Krüger comfortable. His chief occupation was to teach him the religion which he considered him to have only partially embraced, and of the real value of which he thought him as yet ignorant. He informed him of the interdicted meats, of the fast, and of the prohibition of drinking wine. He also taught him how to pray, and the manner of purification necessary previous to engaging in prayer. Of the last we have already spoken; we shall here simply mention, that, according to the Koran, Mohammedans are "forbidden to eat what dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and what has been offered to any idol, or strangled, or killed by a blow or a fall, or gored to death by another horned beast, unless," it is added, "you yourselves shall find life in it, and kill it." But no part of the interdicted food is so much abhorred by Mo-

hammedans as swine's flesh ; and it has with truth been said—

“ Sicut ebrius odit Nasireum,
Et sicut Ismaelita porcum.”

This prohibition of Mohammed, I need hardly remark, is partly taken from the Jewish, and partly from the Christian Scriptures. In killing the animal, there are not so many ceremonies required amongst the Mohammedans as amongst the Jews. The butcher merely says *Bismillahi*, In the name of God, and cuts the throat.

One month in the year has been set aside by the Arabian prophet for fasting. He says, “ O true believers, a fast is ordained you, that you may fear God ; the month of Ramdhan shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent down from heaven. Therefore, let him among you who shall be at home in this month fast the same month ; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, shall fast the like number of other days.” In the revolution of the lunar course, the Mohammedan is obliged to bear the heat of summer without mitigation or refreshments. They are not even allowed to take snuff. At sunset a signal is given, either by hoisting a flag on a mosque, or by discharging a cannon. In some places the moadsan gives notice of it by crying the “ La Illa ” from the appointed place, when the frame may be renovated, the spirits recruited, and nature may resume her rights till sunrise.

During this month, those who can afford it change night into day ; but for those who are

obliged to get their living by hard labour it is a very trying period. In Ramdhan particular sanctity is recommended. At the close of this month of mortification they have the Ede Elkabir, or great feast, which lasts three days. This is a recompense for the mortifications of Ramdhan. They have another feast six months after, which is called Ede Essagher, or little feast. It is celebrated chiefly in honour of the pilgrims who about that time return from Mecca.

Upon the whole, the Mohammedans have but few holy days; even the Friday, which is their Sabbath, is not observed as such. They pursue, with very few exceptions, their worldly occupations; and this in accordance with the Koran, where it says: "In the intervals of preaching and of prayer, believers may disperse themselves through the land as they list, and seek gain of the liberality of God."*

Wine has been prohibited by Mohammed; and this is said to have been occasioned by a drunken quarrel among the chiefs of his army, which nearly produced great disorder and confusion in his affairs. "The devil," says the prophet, "desires to sow dissension and hatred among you, through wine and games of chance, to divert you from remembering God, and praying to him. Abandon wine and games of chance. Be obedient to God and the prophet, his apostle, and take heed unto yourselves."†

* Koran, chap. 62.

† See the Life of Mohammed, extracted from Mohammedan authors.

The old man next told him of the splendid style in which the Koran is written, thinking by this to encourage him in the faith. Mohammedans are very fond of producing this book as a miracle.* In doing this, they only imitate their prophet, who challenged men and angels to produce even a single verse like it.† The composition‡ and style of the Koran are considered by the doctors of the mosque to be inimitable, and more miraculous than raising the dead. They are proud to acknowledge the

* “Auctor celebris Abu Mohammed Mostapha Ebnalsaiib Hasan, cognomine Gennabi, asserit Alcoranum continere sexaginta millia miracula. Ahmed filius Abdol Halim in sua apologia affirmat Alcoranum esse majus miraculum, quam suscitationem mortuorum: et excellenter continere omnes alios sacros libros; et complecti omnia tempora, præterita, præsentia, et futura. Algazel in professione fidei Mahometicæ profitetur, Alcoranum esse æternum, subsistentem essentia Dei.”—Maracci de Alcorano, pp. 43, 44.

† Koran, chap. ii. pp. 9, 10.

‡ “I will mention but one instance, (says Mr Sale,) out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composition by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges: A poem of Labid Ebn Rabia, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Mohammed’s time, being fixed upon the gate of the temple of Mecca, an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances, none of the other poets durst offer anything of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Koran being fixed up by it soon after, Labid himself, (then an idolater,) on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. . . . This Labid is one of the authors of the seven poems called Moalkat.”—Preliminary Discourse.

illiteracy* of the prophet, who presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. "This argument," says the great historian, Gibbon, (in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,) "is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian; whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius. The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach in a version the European infidel: he will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The Divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the Book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language. If the composition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we

* "By the confession of his (Mohammed's) own historians, there were moments in which his pretended ignorance was forgotten, and he not only expressed a desire to exercise, but actually practised, that very art, of which he solemnly and repeatedly professed himself to be totally ignorant."—Bampton Lecture iv. See *Al-Buchari*. *Abulfeda* (p. 136) says, "*Cum autem invalesceret ægritudo ejus, dixit, afferte mihi atramentum et chartam, ut scribam vobis librum, quo post obitum meum non erretis in æternum.*" If he had been ignorant of the art of writing, (as his followers assert,) he would have offered to dictate a book, but not to write one.

ascribe the Iliad of Homer, or the Philippias of Demosthenes?" We are also informed by the great Oriental scholar, Professor Lee, in his *Persian Controversies*, "that some of the Arabs have confessed, that the Koran could not only be equalled, but surpassed in elegance."

But granting the Koran to be the most sublime book in the world, and even a miracle, it could, after all, only be a particular one, to one nation—the Arabs; none but they are capable of judging of its merits. If the prophet considered his religion to be a general one, that is, for the whole world, (as he certainly did,) and the language of the Koran to be the *only* miracle whereby he was to prove his divine mission, he certainly ought to have brought a Koran to each nation according to their language. Thus the language of the Koran is by no means sufficient to establish the Arabian prophet's divine mission. But when "we come to a nearer examination of the text of the Koran, its numerous coincidences with the facts and doctrines of the Bible, appear strangely interspersed with matter the most incongruous; with extravagant fables, monstrous perversions of truth, and ridiculous and endless puerilities." All matters of fact, and matters of faith, which the Koran seems to hold in common with Judaism and Christianity, can easily be traced to the Old and New Testament Scriptures; "its fictions and absurdities can be not less clearly deduced, on the one hand, from the traditions of the talmudic and rabbinical writers; and, on the other hand, from the apocry-

phal gospels, and from the Books of Adam, of Seth, of Enoch, of Noah, and other similar fabrications, well known in Church history as having been extensively in use among the heretics of the first centuries." *

Though the old Dervish did all in his power to prove to Krüger that the Koran itself is a miracle sufficient to establish the veracity of Mohammed's mission, yet he found that this was an argument which the young convert could not comprehend.

* Forster's Mohammedanism Unveiled, vol. ii. p. 13. See Sale's Prelim. Disc., p. 83; also p. 98.

CHAPTER IV.

Mohammed laid no claim to miracles.—His followers ascribe some to him.—The dividing of the moon.—Refutation.—
 A Jew converted by a miracle.—The night journey.—
 Krüger is obliged to conform to the rite of circumcision.
 —His name is changed, and he receives the title Shareef.
 —Has a reputation as saint and physician.—He is requested to bring up a treasure from some ruins.—He extricates himself.

MOHAMMED himself made no pretension to that great criterion of Divine truth, miracles, as may be seen from various parts of the Koran. Often when he was requested to perform miracles, in attestation of his mission, he had great difficulties to clear himself from the charge of imposture. In the Surat called "Thunder," he says, "The infidels say, unless a sign be sent down unto him from his Lord, we will not believe. Thou (God says to him) art commissioned to be a preacher only, and not a worker of miracles." A little further in the same Surat, he says, "The infidels say, unless a sign be sent down to him from his Lord, we will not believe. Answer, Verily, God will lead into error, and will direct to himself him who repenteth, and those who believe, and whose hearts rest securely in the meditation of God." The infidels here alluded to are the Koreish, who requested Mohammed that he should, by the power of his

Koran, either remove the mountains from about Mecca, that they might have delicious gardens in their room, or that he would oblige the wind to transport them with their merchandize to Syria, or else raise to life Kosai Ebn Kailab, and others of their ancestors, to bear witness to him. The prophet, therefore, goes on with the same subject, and says, "Though a Koran were revealed, by which mountains should be removed, or the earth cleaved in sunder, or the dead be caused to speak, it would be in vain. But the matter belongeth wholly to God." *

The passages here referred to plainly show that Mohammed made no pretension to miracles, and yet it is remarkable, that his followers ascribe many to him; and when they are hard pressed to prove them from the Koran, they refer to the Surat Al Kamar, or the Surat of the Moon, and say that Mohammed having been requested by the

* "The mission of the ancient prophets, and of Jesus, had been confirmed by many splendid prodigies; and Mohammed was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, to produce a similar evidence of his divine legation, to call down from heaven the angel or the volumes of his revelation, to create a garden in the desert, or to kindle a conflagration in the unbelieving city. As often as he is pressed by the demands of the Koreish, he involves himself in the obscure boast of vision and prophecy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and shields himself behind the Providence of God, who refuses those signs and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith, and aggravate the guilt of infidelity. But the modest or angry tone of his apologies betray his weakness and vexation."—Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

unbelievers* to perform a miracle, and it being full moon, he commanded that luminary to divide herself, one half to remain visible, and the other half should enter his sleeve. This was no sooner said than done. He kept the half of the moon till the infidels told him to restore her to her former shape. This is the only place from which they endeavour to prove that Mohammed performed miracles. But this passage, which runs thus, "The hour has approached; and the moon *hath been* split," is even disputed by Mohammedans. For some refer it to the day of judgment, and say this is a miracle which is to take place in that great day, and believe the preter tense to be used for the future, as is often the case in prophecy. But there are manuscripts which have the future instead of the preter tense.

The miracles ascribed to Mohammed, by his followers, are of a most curious nature. I could enumerate instances; but I am sure my readers will be satisfied with one which was related to me, whilst at Tunis, by a Mohammedan priest:—As the Prophet was one day preaching, a Jew came to him, and asked him to perform a miracle, and he (the Jew) would believe in his divine message. The Prophet then said to him, "Go and say to that tree, Mohammed sends me to you, with many salu-

* Koreishiten verlangten einst, der Prophet solle ihnen seine göttliche Sendung durch ein Wunder bekräftigen. Auf sein Geheiss theilte sich der Vollmond in zwey Theile, so dass es schien, der Berg Hará habe sich zwischen die beiden Hälften gestellt."—Rosenmüller.

tations, and commands you to leave your place, and come to him and make your devotions; then return again where you are now, bud, blossom, and at the same time bear fruits." The Jew did as he was requested; and when he saw that the commands of the Prophet were obeyed, he exclaimed, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God!" "This Jew," added the priest, "is one of the authors of the seven poems, called Moalkat, which are so sublime, that they were deemed worthy to be suspended in the temple of Mecca."

But what the old devotee thought would make the greatest impression on Krüger was Mohammed's miraculous night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from thence to the seventh heaven, which he is said to have performed in the tenth part of one night. This extravagant story is so firmly believed by the Mohammedans with whom I came in contact, that I cannot help craving the permission of my readers to allow me to give it here in full.

As the Prophet lay one night in his bed, he heard a knocking at his door, which he went to open, when, to his great surprise, he found that it was the angel Gabriel who interrupted his sound sleep. The angel the Prophet describes to have had seventy pair of wings, expanded from his sides, whiter than snow, and clearer than crystal. With the angel was the beast called Albark,* on which the prophets used to ride, when they were carried

* The Arabic word for lightning; the animal is so called from the velocity with which it moves from place to place.

from one place to another for the execution of the divine will. The beast was of a mixed nature, between an ass and a mule, and of a size between both. Gabriel, as may easily be supposed, saluted the Prophet, and most politely told him that he was sent to accompany him to heaven, where he should see wonderful sights, not lawful for any other mortal to behold. Gabriel then bade him to mount Albark; but the beast would not suffer him to approach, till Mohammed had prayed for him, and promised him a place in heaven. Albark, thus satisfied, knelt down to receive his holy burden, and in the twinkling of an eye, the angel holding him by the bridle, the party arrived at Jerusalem. At the gate of the *temple** of the holy city, all the prophets and the departed saints were ready to receive the visitor, and conduct him into the chief oratory, where they begged him to pray for them, after which they departed, leaving the Prophet with the angel alone. On quitting the temple, after prayer, they saw a ladder of light, ready fixed for them, which reached up to heaven. This ladder they ascended, leaving Albark tied to a rock till their return.

When they reached the first heaven, Gabriel knocked at the door, and having informed the porter who he was, and that he brought Mohammed the friend of God, the doors, which were of a prodigious size, were instantly opened, and the visitor was re-

* Mohammedans are not particular about a few hundred years; besides, it would be impossible to persuade them that there was no temple at Jerusalem in their prophet's time.

ceived with the profoundest respect. This heaven was full of pure silver, and stars were hanging from it by gold chains. The stars were of the size of Mount Nox, near Arabia. The guards of this heaven were angels, to keep all the devils out, who are constantly trying to hear what was going on among the ministers of God. In this heaven the Prophet met a decrepid old man, who was *Adam*, by whom he was embraced, giving God thanks for so great a son. After Adam had recommended himself to the Prophet's prayers, he showed him the way to the next heaven.

On his way thither, he saw a great number of angels, of all shapes and sizes: some like men, some like birds, and some like beasts of all sorts. Among the birds, he saw a great cock as white as snow, having his wings covered with pearls and carbuncles; he was so high of stature, that while his feet stood upon the first heaven, his head reached up to the second: a distance of several hundred years' journey, according to the usual way of travelling on earth. This cock is the chief angel of the cocks; he joins every morning with God in singing a holy hymn, when his voice is so loud that all hear him in heaven and on earth except men and fairies, and then all other cocks that are in heaven and earth crow. When the day of judgment approaches, God will command him to draw in his wings, and crow no more, which shall be a sign that the day is at hand. The Mohammedans look upon this cock to be in such great favour with God, that it is a common

saying amongst them, that there are three voices which God always hears. The first is the voice of him who reads constantly the Koran; the second is the voice of him who prays early every morning for the pardon of his sins; and the third the voice of this cock when he crows, which they say is ever most acceptable to God.

From this heaven the Prophet ascended to the second, a distance of five hundred years' journey, which is the distance of every one of the seven heavens each above the other. Here, like in the first, Gabriel having knocked, and the gates being opened, he met *Noah* at his entrance, who, after having expressed his joy to see him, recommended himself to his prayers. The second heaven Mohammed describes to be of pure gold. It contained twice as many angels as the former, one of which was of a prodigious size: his feet being placed on the second heaven, his head reached to the third. After exchanging a few words with some of the angels, he left them, and ascended the third heaven.

This heaven was made of precious stones, and the number of angels was also much greater. *Abraham* was the only one with whom he spoke, who likewise recommended himself to his prayers. Here he saw one angel, who was of such a height, that the distance between both his eyes was no less than seventy thousand days' journey! This angel had a table before him, on which lay a book, wherein he was continually writing and blotting out. Gabriel informed Mohammed that this was

the angel of death, who continually writes the names of those that are to be born, and computes the days of their lives; and when he finds they have completed the number assigned them, he blots their names out, which is no sooner done than the persons die.

Quitting this heaven, he entered the fourth, which was made of emeralds; at the entrance he met *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*, who, after recommending himself to Mohammed's prayers, showed him the vast number of angels there, and greater by far than in any of the former heavens. Here also he found an angel who reached to the fifth heaven, who was continually weeping, making great lamentation and mourning for the sins of men, and the ruin which thereby they brought upon themselves.

After another short and pleasant trip, our traveller reached the fifth heaven, which was all of adamant. Here he had the satisfaction to meet *Moses*, who made the same request as the others had done. Mohammed availed himself of this meeting to ask Moses' advice respecting the time and number of prayers he is to enjoin upon his followers. This Moses readily gave, and it is to him the Mohammedans are indebted for the number of prayers we have already described. Here again the number of angels was greater than in any previous heaven.

Ascending up into the sixth heaven, which was all of carbuncle, he found *John the Baptist*, who, after saluting the Prophet, recommended himself

to his prayers. The number of angels here was also much increased.

Our traveller, with his thousand-leagued boots, finally reached the seventh heaven, which was all made of divine light, where he met *Jesus Christ*.^{*} The number of angels was here greater than in all the other heavens put together, and among them there was one of a most extraordinary kind. He describes him with seventy thousand heads, and in every head seventy thousand tongues, and every tongue uttering seventy thousand distinct voices at the same time, with which he continues day and night incessantly praising God.

The angel Gabriel having conducted him thus far, told Mohammed he was not allowed to go any further, and therefore directed him to ascend the rest of the way to the throne of God by himself. This, the Prophet tells us, he performed with great difficulty, passing through waters, snow, and many other such difficult passages, till he came to a place where he heard a voice saying unto him, "O Mohammed, salute thy Creator!" This he did. From this place ascending higher, he saw a vast extension of light of exceeding brightness, so that his eyes could not bear it: and this was the habitation

^{*} "Here, it is to be observed, the impostor alters his style. For he says, not that Jesus Christ recommended himself to his prayers, but, on the contrary, he recommended himself to Jesus Christ, desiring him to pray for him; whereby he acknowledges him certainly to be the greater. But it was Mohammed's usage, during the whole scene of his imposture, to flatter the Christians."—*Life of Mohammed*, extracted from Mohammedan authors, p. 51.

of the Almighty, where his throne was placed, on the right side of which the sacred name of God was written in fiery letters, and also these words, "La Ela illa Allah Mohammed rasool Allah," *i.e.* There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his apostle. These words, which form the Mohammedan creed, he found written on all the gates of the seven heavens through which he passed.

On approaching the throne, he saw God sitting on it, with a covering of seventy thousand veils before his face. God, the Prophet tells us, stretched forth his hand, and laid it upon him, which was so excessively cold that it pierced him to the very marrow of his back, and he could not bear it. God, after this, entered into a very long and familiar conversation with him, revealed unto him a great many hidden mysteries, made him understand his law, and gave him many things in charge concerning his instructing men in the knowledge of it; and finally bestowed on him several privileges above the rest of mankind: as that he should be the most perfect of all creatures; that at the day of judgment he should be honoured and advanced above all the rest of mankind; that he should be the redeemer of all that believe in him; that he should have the knowledge of all languages; and that the spoils of all he should conquer in war should belong to him alone.

After this celestial audience, the Prophet returned, and found the angel Gabriel still waiting for him in the place where he had left him. The angel then conducting him back through all the

seven heavens, and down the ladder of light, brought him to Jerusalem, where they found Albark as they had left him. Albark was very glad to receive his treasure upon his back; and, the angel taking the bridle, they left Jerusalem for Mecca in the same manner they came, Mohammed gazing with astonished eyes at meadows, hills, and sandy deserts, which passed before them in rapid succession, till he found himself again in his native town, in the arms of his dear and much-beloved Aisha, the most favourite of *all* his women.*

Krüger listened to all this, apparently with great attention, and readily gave his consent to this and to all other miracles that were told him; he conformed to all outward forms and ceremonies of the Mohammedan religion with the utmost punctuality, thinking his profession of it would end here; but in this he was greatly mistaken. He was not aware that, to be a complete Mohammedan, it was of the utmost necessity to be circumcised;† and as long

* Mr Neal, in giving this famous expedition of the Prophet, says,—“Not having Abulfeda’s work to refer to, I am indebted to Dr Prideaux for the Night Journey. Gibbon says, Abulfeda wishes to think it a vision, that Prideaux aggravates the absurdities, and Gagnier declares from the zealous Al-Jannabi, that to deny this journey is to disbelieve the Koran.” See the Life of Mohammed extracted from Mohammedan authors, and Taylor’s History of Mohammedanism. The Prophet himself alludes to this absurdity twice in the Koran, (chap. xvii.,) and it is firmly believed by the Sunnites.

† The practice of circumcision is not an institution of Mohammed’s, but it is one that has been practised among the Arabians long before the impostor made his appearance.

as he was not so, he could only be considered half a Mohammedan, and by the more religious not even that. His old friend, therefore, anxious to bring him into as close relationship with the Prophet as possible, wished to confer the benefit of circumcision upon him, as by this he would be considered one of the family of Mohammed, receive the epithet *Shareef* or *Noble*, and also be permitted to wear a green turban : a privilege only granted to the family of the Prophet, and to converts. Accordingly, one beautiful morning, Krüger was not a little surprised to find a great number of men, women, and children, gathered together in the old man's house ; and on asking the reason of this great meeting, he was informed, that it was to receive him into their assembly by the ordinance of circumcision. He shuddered at hearing this, as may easily be supposed, but neither arguments nor resistance could help him ; he declared himself a

He only confirmed it, without appointing a fixed time when it should be performed. His followers are circumcised at any age : in infancy, youth, manhood, or old age. Those that are circumcised when old are most esteemed. But children are generally circumcised when about seven years old. The ceremony is usually performed in the house of a relation or friend, by a barber. There is no particular form of prayers used, except that the barber, before commencing his operation, says *Bismillah*, In the name of God. The child is encouraged in various ways to undergo this painful operation. A band of national music, the melodies of which are almost inferior to the braying of an ass, a parcel of buffoons, and a great deal of various kinds of sweetmeats, are in readiness to divert him. When the part is healed, the child must undergo a certain lustration, when he is considered *motaheeran*, or purified.

believer in the Divine message of the Prophet, and as such he ought to be circumcised. There was no other way left him than to comply with this most painful formality. After the ceremony was over, his name, John Gottlieb Krüger, was changed into Mohammed Ben Abd-Allah Shareef; and we shall henceforth call him by the name Abdallah, though not at all appropriate to him, as its signification is servant of God. However, this is the name by which he went during his subsequent stay amongst the Arabs, and by which also I was accustomed to call him.

Hitherto Abdallah's profession of the Mohammedan religion consisted in repeating the creed,—“Ashado innaho la Ela illa Allah washhado innaho Saidna Mohammed rasool Allah;” *i.e.* “I testify that there is no God but God, and I testify that our lord Mohammed is the apostle of God:”* but now he was a Mohammedan in every respect; he was classed, as I have already said, amongst the nobility, and some would even make a saint of him: especially so, when he gave them some medical advice on subjects with which he was acquainted. His medical skill procured him, in a short time,

* Aziz Nesepi, a Tartar, who wrote on the Mohammedan religion, whose book Andrew Muller published in Turkish and Latin, in 1665, says, chap. viii., “That there is no God but God, and Mohammed is his servant and ambassador; this, O religious soul! is not hard to conceive. But education opposes that truth, as the ambassador of God teaches. All men are born with the principles of the true faith. But fathers and mothers bring up some in Judaism, others in Christianity, and others in the religion of the Magi.”

such a fame, that he was called to attend the sick at three days' distance from Chifza ; in how far he succeeded in this art, the reader may easily judge.

A European, a saint, and a physician, the Arabs thought he must be possessed of supernatural powers, and therefore brought him to some ruins in the neighbourhood of Chifza, where, they said, there are many treasures hidden, which, by his skill, they requested him to discover and bring forth. To undeceive them, Abdallah thought, was useless ; as this idea had been engendered in them by their forefathers, who, in their opinion, were infallible. Accordingly, he pretended to offer a prayer, and after lying for about a half hour on a stone, on which there was a Latin inscription, in a listening position, he told them the treasure must yet be hidden for twenty-five years, and then a poor young man will be fortunate enough to possess himself of it, who will then be chosen as their chief. They believed the story, and Abdallah's fame was not in the least shaken.

CHAPTER V.

Meets with another German.—They travel as dervishes or saints.—Good reception from Ben Samon.—They go towards Medianah.—His companion probably slain.—Meets two other deserters at Asemorn.—They tell him of their sufferings.—One of them, a Frenchman, is killed by a dervish.—Motives by which Mohammedans are actuated to be so cruel.—Reasons of the rapid success of Mohammed.—His character.—Nature of his rewards and punishments.—Heaven not denied to females.

A FEW days after the above took place, another unfortunate deserter came to Chifza ; he was also a German, a native of Achen. He had been two years amongst the Arabs, and spoke their language tolerably well. He got his living by quackery, raising treasures, giving prescriptions against the evil eye, and to prevent a cannon-ball or musket-shot from penetrating the human body, &c. &c. ; a trade which, to the reader, will appear the most dishonest and villanous, and which in itself it really is. But when the reader is told, that a European, whose misfortune it is to fall amongst the wild inhabitants of the desert, on refusing to do the above mean actions, is liable to the greatest persecutions, yea, even to lose his life, he will, instead of condemning, pity that most unfortunate impostor, if an impostor he is to be called.

Two days after this German's arrival at Chifza, Abdallah determined to travel with him towards the Atlas mountains; and, to ensure their safety, they dressed themselves like dervishes, or Moham-medan saints, a class of men who enjoy many privileges, and of whom I shall have an opportunity to say more hereafter. Accordingly, they left Chifza, and arrived in six days at the encampment of a tribe near Constantina, whose chief, by name Ben Samon, received them very friendly.

On their way, they met several bands of robbers, who permitted them to pass unmolested on account of their dress and assumed profession. Shaik Ben Samon asked them why they dressed like dervishes? and when he heard that they did it for their safety, he exclaimed, "Nothing excels the wisdom of Europeans!" "However," said he, "you have nothing to fear here; you may take off this dress, no one will hurt you." He kindly sent them to the bath, and gave them every article of dress they required. Ben Samon was exceedingly kind to them, gave them letters of recommendation to another chief, who, he said, would treat them well. They staid here only a few days, and proceeded towards Medianah, near which place the chief, or shaik, to whom Ben Samon gave them letters, lived.

On their arrival, they asked to be introduced to the chief; but no sooner did the companion of Abdallah behold him, than he trembled for fear, having been with him before, and, it would appear, had played some trick upon him. The chief, after observing him for a few moments, said to him,

“ O Joseph, is it you ?” and turning to some Arabs near, he said to them, “ Take this fellow, and cut his head off ; God has brought him back to me, for the purpose of being punished for his vile actions.” No sooner was this said, than poor Joseph was dragged off in a most merciless manner, and Abdallah *saw him no more.*

The day after the above took place, Abdallah was told that he might depart to whatever place he liked, when he gladly put his few things together, and left the place, where, I may truly say, his sufferings really commenced. He quitted this scene in such a state of mind, that he hardly knew where he was going to. He travelled the whole of that day and night, and arrived on the following evening at a village called Asemoru, where he met two other deserters, one a Frenchman and the other a German. These poor fellows related their sufferings to Abdallah, and they were great indeed. The day previous, they said, two of their party were burned for refusing to repeat the Mohammedan creed, and they only saved their own lives by having done so. They wished very much to return to their native country ; but this, under present circumstances, was impossible : for to go back to the French was instant death, or slavery, which is much worse than death ; they had, therefore, no other way left them than to remain amongst the bigoted and inhuman inhabitants of the desert.

But whilst they were thus reflecting on their miserable condition, an old man, a dervish, came up to them, and asked them to give him a declara-

tion of their faith in the Mohammedan religion, by repeating the creed. Ali,* who was the German, did it ; so did Abdallah ; but Mustafa, the Frenchman, angry at the cruelties he saw committed on his comrades the day before, cursed the old dervish and his religion,† and told him he would do no such thing, as he believed the Mohammedan religion to be nothing else but a lie. Nothing worse than this could be said to a Mohammedan, and especially to a saint ; the zeal of the old man, for the Prophet and his religion, being kindled, he took up a large stone, and throwing Mustafa to the ground, beat him with it on his head for a considerable time, in a most merciless manner, and then asked him whether he would repeat the creed ? But Mustafa still refusing, the barbarous old dervish actually killed him on the spot!‡ The crowd of persons around applauded the zeal of the cruel saint, instead of preventing the murder. His corpse was dragged out, and his companions could not even inter him ; for by doing so, they would have endangered their own lives.

The blind zeal which the Mohammedans have

* Both the German and the Frenchman adopted Mohammedan names.

† "Nael Dinak," or cursed be your religion, are words which the Mohammedans constantly make use of when they are angry with a Christian or a Jew ; but nothing offends them more than when the compliment is returned them.

‡ The dervish would have killed him, even if he had repeated the creed when he asked him a second time ; and this he would have done to prevent him from apostatising. This reminds us of similar actions, committed upon the poor Jews, by nominal Christians.

both for their religion and their Prophet has, I am sure, been sufficiently demonstrated ; but some might very reasonably ask, “ By what motives are these enthusiasts actuated, so as to forget all feelings of humanity as long as they can promote the cause of their Prophet ? ” This is a question which persons who have read the Koran are most likely to ask ; because men are so often apt to judge of others by themselves. They forget that they read the Koran in a Christian country, with a Christian education, and that in the nineteenth century, and therefore could so easily discover its fallacies ; whilst the Arab is to-day in the same state as regards education and civilization as he was when Mohammed appeared, and, therefore, the same persuasions and arguments which then induced his forefathers to fight the battles of the Prophet, and establish his dominion, will now induce him to commit all outrages possible, as long as the holy religion is propagated. But times have changed, and holy wars are no more carried on, *because they cannot be carried on.*

The rapid success which Mohammed had in propagating his religion, we are informed, was owing to causes that are plain and evident, and must remove, or rather prevent, our surprise, when they are attentively considered. The terror of his arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that persuaded such multitudes to embrace his religion, and submit to his

dominion. Besides, his law was artfully and marvellously adapted to the corrupt nature of man ; and in a more particular manner to the manners and opinions of the Eastern nations, and the vices to which they were naturally addicted ; for the articles of faith which it proposed were few in number, and extremely simple ; and the duties it required were neither many nor difficult, nor such as were incompatible with the empire of appetites and passions. It is to be observed further, that the gross ignorance under which the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and the greatest part of the Eastern nations, laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer. To these causes of the progress of Mohammedanism, we may add the bitter dissensions, and cruel animosities, that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, dissensions that filled a great part of the East with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many. We might add here, that the Monophysites and Nestorians, full of resentment against the Greeks, from whom they had suffered the bitterest and most injurious treatment, assisted the Arabians in the conquest of several provinces, into which, in consequence, the religion of Mohammed was afterwards introduced. Other causes of the sudden progress of that religion will naturally occur to such as consider attentively its

spirit and genius, and the state of the world at this time.*

The character of Mohammed, at first sight, may seem to some, in many respects, doubtful. One can hardly tell whether the state of his country, which at that time was covered with an odious and abominable superstition and idolatry, actuated him to take upon himself the garb of a prophet, and pretend to be commissioned by God to reform the religion of his countrymen to the worship of one God, and that he persisted in this so long, till he himself really believed that he was an apostle of God ; or whether he arose by the impulse of ambition, love of fame and glory, and through perseverance, succeeded in effecting one of the greatest revolutions in the world ; to establish an empire which, in eighty years' time, extended its dominions beyond the limits of Arabia, over Persia, Syria, Egypt, and other countries. Upon a closer investigation, however, one can find no difficulty in putting him down for the greatest impostor that ever disgraced the face of the earth. He took advantage of the ignorant state of his countrymen, and by the sagaciousness of his wit, succeeded in imposing on them a religion of his own fabrication. He was void of all principle, and suffered nothing from the remonstrances of conscience. "Besides," as Dr Paley justly observes, "his licentious transgressions of his own licentious rules ; his abuses of the character which he assumed, and

* Dr Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, p. 239 ; Dr Mac-laine's edition of 1838.

of the power which he had acquired, for the purposes of personal and privileged indulgence ; his avowed claim of a special permission from heaven of unlimited sensuality, is known to every reader, as it is confessed by every writer, of the Moslem story."*

The arguments he made use of were not adapted to convince the mind, but such as work on the passions, and especially upon those of his countrymen. The Paradise which he promised those who should believe in his message is of a most sensual nature. In the Surat, entitled "Mohammed," Paradise is thus described by him :— "Therein are rivers of incorruptible water ; the rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not ; and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink ; and rivers of clarified honey ; and therein shall they have plenty of all kinds of fruits ; and pardon from their Lord. Shall the men for whom these things are prepared be as they who must dwell for ever in hell-fire ; and will have the boiling-water given them to drink, which shall burst their bowels ?"† But this is nothing when compared with the description he gives of it in the Surat, entitled "The Merciful." There, after having portrayed the place of torment, the impostor goes on to say : "But for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his Lord are prepared two gardens, planted with shady trees. In each of them shall be two fountains flowing, and in each of them shall there

* Paley's Works, p. 375, col. 1.

† Koran, Sale's edition, p. 410.

be of every fruit two kinds. They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof shall be of thick silk, interwoven with gold; and the fruit of the two gardens shall be near at hand to gather. Therein shall receive them beauteous damsels,* refraining their eyes from beholding any besides their spouses; whom no man shall have deflowered before them, neither any genius; having complexions like rubies and pearls. Shall the reward of good works be any other than good? And besides these, there shall be two other gardens, of a dark green. In each of them shall be two fountains pouring forth plenty of water. In each of them shall be fruits, and palm-trees, and pomegranates. Therein shall be agreeable and beauteous damsels; having fine black eyes, and kept in pavilions from public view; whom no man shall have deflowered before their destined spouses, nor any genius. Therein shall*

* Some have asserted, that the females here spoken of are not the same who have lived in this world, and pretend that Mohammedans deny Paradise to the fair sex. This the reader will find in Hoornbeck's *Summ. Controvers.*, p. 16 Upon this Lord Byron has, perhaps, founded these lines:

"Eliza, what fools are the Mussulman sect,
Who to woman deny the soul's future existence;
Could they see thee, Eliza, they'd own their defect,
And this doctrine would meet with a general resistance."

This opinion is certainly false. Mohammedans never maintained it. On the contrary, there are passages in the Koran which directly contradict it. Let this one suffice: "Whoever worketh good, whether male or female, and is a true believer, they shall enter Paradise; they shall be provided therein superabundantly."—See *Surat*, entitled "*The True Believer*."

they delight themselves, lying on green cushions, and beautiful carpets." *

From this description of heaven, the reader will easily be able to judge of the nature of Mohammed's hell, with which he threatened all those that refused to adopt his doctrine.

The consequence of these promises and threats, so suited to the feelings of his countrymen, was, that he got many followers, but not without great opposition. For, from the commencement of his mission, no less than "three years were silently employed by him in the conversion of *fourteen* proselytes. For ten years, the religion advanced with a slow and painful progress, within the walls of Mecca. The number of proselytes, in the seventh year of his mission, may be estimated by the absence of eighty-three men and eighteen women, who retired to Ethiopia." † I think it may safely be said, that had Mohammed not been the grandson of the most powerful and honourable family in Mecca; had Ali, afterwards the celebrated Caliph, not so zealously assisted him; and had his religion not been so much in conformity to the general feelings of the Arabs; and, above all, had he not propagated his doctrine by the sword, his religion would never have come down to our days; it would certainly have been smothered in its infancy.

* Sale's Koran, pp. 431 and 432.

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 244.

CHAPTER VI.

What persons likely to embrace Mohammedanism voluntarily.—An example of one.—Mohammedans also try to prove the truth of their religion from our Scriptures.—Refutation.

THE religion which Mohammed established, and which is professed by so many millions, breathes the same spirit of vengeance and hatred against infidels (a term by which they designate all those who are not Mohammedans) this day as it did when it was first founded ; and when the same cruelties are not committed now by its professors as were then, it is because their power has been checked. The same desire, also, of making converts to their religion, both from Jews and Christians, is still existing, as the reader must already have seen. But it may seem strange to hear, that in our days there should be found persons spontaneously to deny their faith, and embrace that of the false prophet. Several instances of this kind have come under my notice during my stay in Barbary. They are not of a sober mind who, from conviction, embrace this religion ; for where is that individual who has read the Koran, and could not, or is not, capable of discovering its fallacies ? Or where is that person who will forsake, or cut him-

self off from the Christian and civilized world, and join himself to a nation that is so many centuries behind in civilization, as the followers of Mohammed are? Surely no one endued with the faculty of reason will do so. The following case of one of these unfortunate persons, which came under my particular notice in 1840, will sufficiently demonstrate my assertion. He has written it himself in German, his native language, and I translated it into English :—

“ I am a member of a very respectable family of C——, in the Duchy of A——. My father, formerly Secretary of the Finances, has now retired from public life, on account of the weak state of his health.

“ Agreeably to the wishes of my family, and to my own inclination for jurisprudence, I studied it at the Universities of Halle and Berlin, and have reason to believe, not without success.

“ Hitherto I knew life by its pleasures only, but now I was to feel its sorrows also ; and I may confidently assert, that within the last six months I have experienced more misfortunes than rarely fall to the lot of a mortal within so short a period. I was compelled by circumstances to relinquish my addresses to a young lady to whom I was sincerely attached, and I felt this blow so acutely that I gave myself up to the deepest melancholy. My physicians advised me to travel, and my father gladly incurred the expenses of a journey which I made to the south of Europe.

“ I embraced this proposition with eagerness, and

traversed, in a short time, a great part of the South of France, but found no where the tranquillity which I sought. Many long forgotten dreams were recalled to my mind as I mused on the shores of the dark blue Mediterranean, near Marseilles, but these were only calculated to feed the melancholy which preyed on my soul.

“When a child, I had read the Arabian Nights, parts of Abulfeda,* and the Koran, and these works gave me a strong predilection for all that was Oriental. A drowning man catches at straws, and I imagined that I might find in the Mohammedan religion that forgetfulness of my sorrows which had till now been refused to me.

“In my state of mind I forgot all the dangers I should incur by taking such a step, and imagined that it would be as easy for me to renounce the religion of Mohammed as to adopt it. Without informing my father of my intention, I procured at Marseilles a passport for Tunis, and arrived here about three months since. A few days after my arrival I became acquainted with Sheik Ibraim, a Moorish priest, to whom I made known my intention of embracing Islamism. He sent me with a letter of recommendation to Bardo, the Bey’s residence, where I was introduced to Sidi Hamda, the Bey of the camp, the Basha being absent with his

* Abulfeda was a Turkish prince of Hama. He flourished in the fifteenth century, and was famous as an author of a general geography of the world, after the method of Ptolemy, and for an Epitome of the History of Nations. He died A. D. 1345, aged seventy-two years.

army. He received me very kindly, and requested me to stay a few days with him, and during this time I received all the necessary instructions.

“But when the time came when I was to renounce my religion, I inquired whether I was to live at Bardo as the Bey’s slave, (as is generally the case with renegadoes,) or whether I should continue to be free? They answered that I had nothing to fear, but that they could make no conditions with one who wished to embrace their faith. My mind was greatly disturbed on hearing this, and I was almost on the point of giving up my intention; but in spite of my secret compunctions, and the painful formalities I was obliged to undergo, I became a Mussulman.

“How greatly was I astonished when, after the ceremonies were over, and before I could recover from my excitement, I was asked to choose my future office, which was between that of a soldier and Mameluke: urged by necessity, I chose the latter.

“All these events succeeded each other so rapidly, that they appeared to me as dreams. I was transported as if by enchantment into a new world, and only saw the abyss into which I had plunged, when it was too late to save myself.

“No sooner had I denied my religion, and adopted that of the Prophet, than, from being an object of distinction, I sunk at once into the drudge, the laughing-stock, and the slave. I was classed with the basest of them, and felt certain that unless I fled beyond the baneful influence of their court, I

should soon be their equal in degradation. This thought was torture to me, and I could not endure to remain in this state. There were but two ways of effecting my escape. The first was to embark secretly at the Goletta, and on my arrival in Europe, to declare that my papers were lost, as in fact they were, for some one stole them before I had been many days at Bardo ; and the second was to make my way to Bona by land, and to embark there for Marseilles.

“ The strictness with which I was watched, prevented me from executing my first design, and I consequently adopted the latter. With the little money which was left me, I hired a black man to serve me as a guide ; and on a beautiful day, towards the end of August, I left the accursed Bardo. We travelled on horseback, and reached the plains of the Mejerda unmolested. We dismounted on a shady spot near this beautiful river ; but had not been here long, before we were surrounded by twenty-five or thirty Arabs, who dragged me to their tents, which were pitched at a short distance, and in such a manner as to be invisible from the high-road. I was kept here until the following day, when, having tightly secured my hands and feet with ropes, they carried me to a neighbouring field, where I was left for four days exposed, with nothing but a shirt on, to the fierce rays of the sun, and the cold dews of the night, and with no other food but a scanty supply of bread and water. The heat of the day and the chill of the night occasioned a swelling in my feet, and on the third day sup-

puration commenced ; on the fourth day, my tortures were so great, that the Arabs took compassion on me, and, loosening my bonds, allowed me to crawl to a neighbouring village, where some kind people, pitying my sufferings, did every thing which lay in their power to alleviate them. I remained with them two weeks.

“ Finding, however, my case getting daily worse, I determined to return to Tunis, with the expectation to find there medical assistance. After six most painful days, I arrived at my intended destination, where I applied for protection to Cav. Truqui, consul-general for Sardinia and Austria, who, I must confess, to the honour and humanity of that gentleman, received me very kindly, and promised to assist me to get back to my native country.”

Such is his own tale. Cav. Truqui* has, according to his promise, assisted him to get back to his native place, which by this time, I dare say, he has reached.

The reader has now seen various ways how converts are added to the Mohammedan faith ; but there is one more, which, though last, is not the least. The Mohammedan has also recourse to our Scriptures to prove from them that Mohammed is a true

* Since I wrote the above, Cav. Truqui has met with an untimely death at Florence. He was on his way to visit his family, then residing at Turin. His loss will be felt by a great many, as those who knew him could not but love and respect him. The poor and unfortunate have lost in him a protector ; his government, a faithful servant ; his equals, a true companion ; whilst in his family, his loss will be felt as a tender husband and an affectionate father.

prophet. The passages which they adduce are as follows: Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. l. 2; Isa. xxi. 7; John vi. 7: passages which, every sensible reader will see, deserve no refutation. But no sooner do they find that these passages can be proved to have not the slightest reference to their prophet,* than they tell you that there were many others, both in the Old and New Testament, but that the Jews and Christians corrupted them. Mohammed has even the audacity to say that our Lord predicted his coming. The passage to which I allude is found in the chapter entitled "Battle Array," and runs thus: "And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed," [or Mohammed.]

I had, on one occasion, a conversation with a Mohammedan priest on the subject of religion, and referring him to several passages of the Old Testament, which he found bore too hard upon him, he had the impudence to tell me, "Though I acknowledge your Scriptures to be divine, yet you must bear in mind that your books have been corrupted, and are, therefore, no more of the same force." In reply to which I said, that it was absurd to make such a bare assertion without being able to prove it. I could do the same with regard to the Koran, and

* The Rev. Mr Ewald, late missionary in Tunis, published a course of letters on this subject in Arabic, wherein he most satisfactorily refutes his opponent, a Mohammedan priest.

that upon better grounds ; as it is confessed that Mohammed left his pretended revelation in a disordered state, and Abu Bacre, after the death of his master, collected many passages, which had either been committed to memory by Mohammed's followers, or which had been written in fragments, upon palm-leaves or skins, and digested them into the present order. They could not prove that Abu Bacre was infallibly guided in disposing of them in the manner he did.* But besides mentioning that our Scriptures† were extant, long before Mohammed made his appearance, in various languages, and in various countries, and, upon comparing these copies, the difference is only such as may consistently be expected in translations ; or besides laying any stress upon the pains which the Jews took in preserving the purity of the Old Testament, which amounts almost to superstition,—I ask, why did the Jews not obliterate those remarkable prophecies which refer to Jesus of Nazareth ? why did they not corrupt them ? How is it that two nations,

* See Reland's *Life of Mohammed*.

† "They (Mohammedans) would have it believed that this holy book (the Bible) is corrupted ; but we can show them the same passages, which we make use of to oppose them, in the versions that preceded Mohammed, and in the Fathers of the six first centuries. We must oblige them to prove their senseless accusations, and ask them the epocha of the corruption. When they are shown that it was impracticable from the time of the apostles till that of their false prophet, it may be hoped they will open their eyes to the knowledge of the truth, and condemn the seduction by which both they and their ancestors were abused."—*Historical and Critical Reflections upon Mohammedanism and Socinianism*.

diametrically opposed to each other in their sentiments, should have combined together in adulterating the fundamentals of their respective religions, merely to oppose Mohammed, and that for no plausible reason whatsoever? Further, the Jews never suffered so much from the followers of Mohammed as they did (and, I am sorry to say, in many countries, still do) from those who called themselves the disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus; and yet, how is it that they left all those remarkable and plain prophecies which refer to our Lord? Why do they acknowledge them as belonging to the volume of inspiration? And for what reason should they have corrupted those prophecies which referred to Mohammed? No reason, I am sure, can be assigned for this groundless charge.

These arguments had the desired effect, and the priest, though I often conversed with him after this, never repeated the same objection.

CHAPTER VII.

Cruelty of the people of Asemorn.—Abdallah is sold to Bo Azes.—His journey to the Owwlad Matta, over whom Bo Azes is governor.—The tribe surprised by an enemy.—They meet the enemy.—Gelela, son of Bo Azes, is killed by the chief of the enemy.—Retreat of the Owwlad Matta.—Mourning for Gelela.—Death of his wife.—Sickness of Abdallah.—Cruelty towards him.—Meets a German at Bo Saïda, and gets attached to him.—The German sold.

I MUST now beg my reader to return with me to Asemorn, where we left Abdallah. The cruelty of the inhabitants of Asemorn has been sufficiently seen from the treatment I recorded ; but their inhuman disposition did not take its stop here. Abdallah was by them very badly treated : the clothes he had they took from him, and left him only a shirt and a small flannel, which was to serve him both for dress and bedding in the midst of winter. With these merciless creatures he had to remain for some time, till one day a well-dressed Bedouin Arab, in passing through the village on his return to his tribe, the Owwlad Matta, then three days' journey from Asemorn, bought him for three camels. The Arab's name was Bo Azes ; he was the chief of the above tribe.

Early the following morning, the slave departed with his new master ; an old lean mare, without saddle or bridle, was destined to carry the for-

mer. The want of the bridle was of no consequence; but the want of the saddle he felt very severely: so much so, that, after a few hours' ride, the poor fellow was constrained to dismount and lead the animal. Some of the Arabs, who accompanied Bo Azes, were even so cruel as to deprive him of the piece of flannel he had, so that his whole dress consisted of a single shirt. He proceeded in this manner for two days, suffering the greatest pains imaginable; his feet were quite sore from the thorns which stuck in them. Besides, he hardly received any food, except a little milk and water: so that, on the third day, he told his master that he could proceed no farther, except a saddle were put on his mare. Bo Azes was not cruel, though very stern. He looked at Abdallah for a few moments, and then said to him, "Have you been so long amongst the Arabs, and have not yet learned to ride without a saddle?" Then calling one of his men, he ordered him to give to Abdallah his saddle, which having been done, they proceeded on their journey, and towards evening reached their destination.

When yet a mile's distance from where the tents of Bo Azes' tribe were pitched, all the men came out to meet their chief, and brought him into the midst of them with great rejoicing. The whole night was passed in singing, playing, and dancing. Abdallah was an object of curiosity to the Owlad Matta for some time, as he was the only one amongst them really white; they were all dark and swarthy. The occupation they assigned him was

the feeding of the horses of his master, an employment which he pursued for two months.

The Owlad Matta never remained longer in a place than six or seven days, always changing when they had no more pasture for their cattle. In this manner they proceeded, till one day, whilst Abdallah was watering the horses, some of the men came running, calling out, "Eladoo! eladoo!" (the enemy! the enemy!) at which alarm all ran for their horses, took their arms, and went, with their chief and his two sons at their head, to meet the enemy, leaving the women in the meantime to pack up the tents. After an hour's ride, they came within half-a-mile of their enemies, where they arranged themselves in three files, awaiting the command of their chieftain.

In the meantime, Gelela, the chief's eldest son, a powerful and spirited young man, impatient to begin the combat, spurred his splendid white charger, which almost in a twinkling of an eye brought him within a pistol-shot of the enemy's camp. This was an understood challenge to their chief, who did not wait long to show Gelela his acceptance of it. In a few minutes, the two warriors (for such they were in every respect) met on the same spot; pistols were the arms which they agreed upon, of which the Owlad Matta were very glad, for Gelela was an excellent shot. Two shots were fired by each, from one of which the enemy's chief was wounded. A third, and last, was agreed upon; but this soon made Bo Azes' party tremble for their champion, as he was severely wounded by

his opponent. They now encountered each other with swords, weapons which both of them handled in a very masterly manner. The blood streamed on the ground from the numerous wounds received by each of them. Gelela being exhausted, tried to make the last attack, and rushing towards his antagonist in the most furious manner, grasped hold of him, intending to wrest him from his saddle.

“ But, ah ! what use of valour can be made,
When Heav’n’s propitious pow’rs refuse their aid ? ”

Both of them fell to the ground ; their struggle was desperate, but for some time indecisive, till a mortal wound which Gelela received from his opponent stretched him dead upon the spot.

Gelela was the cause of his own fate, having committed hostilities upon this neighbouring tribe during the absence of his father. No sooner did the Owlad Matta see their young hero expire than they considered their fate decided, and a panic breaking out amongst them, they all, as one man, turned their backs upon the enemy, and galloped away as fast as their horses could carry them, crying out as loud as they could, “ Saidna Gelela maat ! Saidna Gelela maat ! ” (our Lord Gelela is dead !) till they reached their own tents. Here, all was thrown topsy-turvy ; the tents and all other effects were placed upon the camels, and in a few moments the whole tribe, men, women, and children, were seen moving along towards the coast. All the effects, together with the women and children, were in the van, whilst the men were

in the rear, to be ready to resist the enemy, in case they should pursue and attack them. In this manner they proceeded the rest of the day, and the whole of the night, and finding that they were not pursued, they pitched again their tents in a valley surrounded by little hills, which prevented their being observed by the traveller. Such a situation, under their present circumstances, was very advantageous.

The day after this new settlement, Abdallah witnessed a scene which was hitherto unknown to him; it was the mourning for Gelela. Early in the morning all dressed themselves as bad as they could. The sucking camels, calves, and lambs, were tied and put into Gelela's tents, whilst their mothers were let loose outside. The noise these animals made can easily be imagined. The women then came together dressed in all sorts of rags, with their hair loose, which they pulled out by handfuls, at the same time weeping and crying as loud as they could. The men all sat quiet on the ground, with their heads bare, except some earth upon them. The boys beat the dogs, amounting to several hundreds, making them bark and howl. This harmonic music of roaring, howling, lamenting, and barking, was kept up the whole day long, and was afterwards repeated three hours daily during three weeks, when the mourning for Gelela was ended.

This kind of mourning for the dead is not practised in cities, nor do I think it common to all Bedouin tribes; it seems to be the custom of the

Owlad Matta, and amongst them only for persons of distinction.

Greatly as the loss of this young Bedouin was felt by his tribe, there was one by whom it was deplored much more deeply. Fatima, the only daughter of Hamda, a man of great reputation amongst the Owlad Matta, had been married only a few weeks to Gelela, whom she loved most tenderly. Their nuptials had been celebrated in a manner becoming the dignity of both; and she little then thought that her joy would so soon be turned into mourning. She was of an extraordinary beauty. Her eyes were black; the harmony of her features were surprising, and the exact proportions of her body not less so. Her fine black hair hung gracefully down her shoulders; her manners were gentle, and her motion full of dignity; in short, she possessed in perfection that beauty which is greatly admired amongst the sons of the desert.

No sooner was the corpse of Gelela brought by two daring young Arabs, and placed in the tent of Bo Azes, than Fatima made her appearance, though advised by her friends not to do so. She sat down near it, and remained with it a whole night, not uttering the least sound of complaint, but pensive and cast down, with her eyes fixed on the remains of her beloved; fancying sometimes that he was still alive, and that she could still converse with him. But Gelela—her only joy in this world—her life—her all—had ceased to exist! This was a stroke too heavy for her to bear. She

neither wept nor lamented, and yet every one saw that she was most miserable. This world could afford her no consolation; the thought that Gelela "should sleep in other embraces, even in the icy arms of Death! forgetful, eternally forgetful, of the world and her!" was intolerable to her. She lingered about for a few days after the interment of her husband, refusing all consolation, till death put an end to her miserable existence. She was buried in the grave of Gelela, greatly deplored by her relations, and, in fact, by the whole tribe.*

The Owlad Matta were several times attacked by their enemies, in which they lost many men. This, and the want of water, constrained them to go towards the mountains. Abdallah was very glad of this, as he was quite tired of them, and heartily wished to escape, which was very practicable in the mountains, whilst in the desert it was impossible to effect.

He had now been with this tribe eight months, during which time his sufferings, both mental and physical, were very great. During the last three weeks he had been very ill, caused by a sting from a scorpion.† In his illness, he was fed upon two

* In the course of these pages, the reader will find an account of the burial ceremonies of the Mohammedans.

† The sting of a Barbary scorpion is fatal. But I have been told by Arabs, if the blood-stone is applied to the place where the animal inflicted the wound, a sure cure would be performed. I never believed this. But last year, when in Beyrout, Major Wildenburg, H.P.M. Consul-general for Syria, related to me a case of which he was an eye-witness. One of his servants was stung by a scorpion, and in a very

ounces of bread, and a little milk, every day, whilst the treatment which he received was most cruel. He was obliged to lie on the bare ground, without anything to cover him at night. When they travelled, he was obliged, though very weak, to march on foot, whilst they were all mounted on camels, mules, asses, or horses.

Bo Azes left his present encampment, and reached in a few days Bo Side, on the river Shella, where it was his intention to settle down for some time.

Here Abdallah was told that a young German, who understood something of medicine, had been brought as a slave, and lived at not a great distance from him. Of this he was very glad; he wrote him a few lines, and begged, if possible, that he should visit him. The following day the German came and prepared some medicine for Abdallah, which, in a few days, quite restored him. This young man had also served in the Foreign Legion, and had deserted from Algiers. His sufferings, during his pilgrimage amongst the wild disciples of Mohammed, had been very great, and almost similar to those of Abdallah. They sympathized with each other, and soon became very intimate friends; but this did not last long, as in a few days

short time his arm swelled up to an enormous size, and the poor fellow was in the greatest agony. An Arab, who happened to be present, instantly ran for one of those stones, applied it, and, to the great surprise of the by-standers, the arm, after a very few minutes, resumed its former shape, and the man was freed from pain.

after they made acquaintance, his friend was sold to a distant tribe. This separation Abdallah felt very severely ; and, tired of his misfortunes, he determined in some way or other to put an end to them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Abdallah escapes.—Is overtaken, stripped, and wounded.—Goes to Imdokan, where he is well treated.—Goes with a Shareef to Sidy Aqua.—The character of the Bey of Constantina, by whom Abdallah is imprisoned.—A providential escape from death.—Departs with the Shareef.—Pilgrimage to Mecca.—Leaves the Shareef, and goes to Zoof.—Meets Christians in a caravan going to Tugurt, and joins them.—Their fate.—Abdallah returns to Gereed, where he finds the Bey of the camp of Tunis, and is taken by him to that city.—Is now determined to remain a Mohammedan.

ACCORDINGLY, one morning he arose very early, and took his way towards the river, on the banks of which he intended to travel in search of a certain tribe, of whose benevolent character he had heard very much. But he hardly had reached the river, when he heard the report of a gun behind him, and, on looking round, he was not a little alarmed when he beheld the youngest son of his master, a youth of about twenty years of age, with two other Arabs, in pursuit of him. To endeavour to escape was useless ; he therefore sat down, and awaited the result.

When they approached him, his young master cursed him for his faithlessness ; he, however, told

him to give up all his clothes, and then go wherever he liked; to which Abdallah agreed.

“Behold a nation in a man comprised!”

The young Bedouin seems to have done all this of his own accord, for no sooner had he got the clothes, and made his way back to the tents, than six horsemen, sent by Bo Azes, came to drag Abdallah back to the Oulad Matta. The fugitive threw himself at their feet, and implored them to give him his liberty, which, after having inflicted on him a severe wound with a knife, they granted.

Hungry, naked, and severely wounded, he went in search of the above-mentioned tribe, which he only found the following morning. This tribe treated him very kindly; they gave him clothing, fed him, and bound up his wounds. Here he remained two days, and then proceeded to Sidy Hamaldy, in the desert, which place he reached in two days. From here he went to Imdokan, which is governed by Shiekh Abd-el-Kader, (not the one of Algiers.) The Shiekh received him well, pitied all his sufferings, and told him to remain at Imdokan till something better would offer for him. This Abdallah readily accepted.

After a few months, a Shareef came from the desert, who was on his way to perform his pilgrimage to Mecca, and as Abd-el-Kader had no objection to let Abdallah go, and the Shareef willing to take him, they left Imdokan together. In three days they reached Sidy Aqua, where Hagj

Hamed, the famous Bey of Constantina, was at that time with some of his followers.

Hagj Hamed has been represented to me, by men who saw him, as a person possessed of the most despotic vehemence of temper, as ferocious, arrogant, and of a most extravagant passion for bloodshed. An Arab gave me once a description of him, when I could not help being reminded of these lines :—

“ With eyes so grey, and hair so red,
With tusks so sharp and keen,
He'll fright the shades when he is dead,
And hell won't let him in.”

The only difference between the savage Bey and the person who is the subject of these lines is, that he has black hair instead of red. His conduct towards the French soldiers, whose misfortune it was to fall into his hands during the war, was most inhuman. They were first decapitated ; then their bleeding heads were paraded through the streets of Constantina on the hands of Jews, whom he compelled to act the part of executioners. The cruel wretch would often stand and witness the whole of this vile and horrid scene. Such was his conduct towards his enemies ; but his own subjects were often treated in a similar manner.

Abdallah was brought before this prince, who no sooner heard that he was a Christian than he ordered him to be put in chains, and thrown into a most horrid hole of a prison, where he remained two weeks, expecting daily to have an end put to

his miserable existence. The gaoler happened to be rather humane ; him Abdallah begged to intercede with the prince, to tell him that he was not a Frenchman, and in no wise deserved the wrath of his Highness. This the man did ; and early on the following morning the prisoner was taken out of his dungeon, and again introduced to Hagj Hamed.

He was seated on a carpet outside of his tent, with two lions chained at a little distance from him. Near him was a certain Bo Azes, his minister, who also was seated cross-legged on the ground. Opposite to them were several officers, forming a kind of semi-circle. The prisoner was placed in the midst of them, and was thus addressed by the Bey :—
“ Young man ! your life was in the greatest danger ; to-morrow I intended to have had your head cut off, and to have thrown your corpse to be devoured by these lions, had not Mustafa (the gaoler) come and told me that you were not a Frenchman. Now, take this (handing him a few piastres,) and go, as your desire is, to visit the holy city : the Shareef with whom you came is still here.”

Abdallah, as may easily be imagined, thanked him, and God likewise, for this deliverance, and went to the Shareef, with whom he departed the same day.

The pilgrims took their way towards Natshe, in the desert ; which place, after great sufferings of thirst and hunger, they reached in three days.

Abdallah cared but little for the injunction of the prophet to “ perform the pilgrimage* of

* The pilgrimage to Mecca is greatly recommended by the prophet. There are four gates, as they are called, to

Mecca, and the visitation of God." His object was now to get back to some European and Christian country, and not to visit the temple at Mecca, though Mohammed, according to Al Ghazali, said, that he who dies without performing this pilgrimage, may as well die a Christian or a Jew. Mohammedans, therefore, who have their health, and can afford it, try, at least once in their lifetime, to visit the holy place. Abdallah's chief reason for adopting the pilgrim's garb was, that he thought of avoiding those dangers to which he would else have been exposed. The Shareef intended at first to proceed directly to some place along the coast to take ship ; but as he changed his mind, Abdallah thought it best to leave him at Natshe, and to proceed by himself to Zoof. Zoof is five days' journey from Natshe.

After a stay of a few days at Zoof, he proceeded to Gereed, or the country of dates, in the regency of Tunis. Here he found a caravan going to Tugurt, consisting of about thirty persons, amongst whom

Mecca, or places where the pilgrims meet, from whence they start, in a body, for safety's sake, to visit the Caba, a house which the Mohammedans believe to have been built first by Adam, and rebuilt, after the deluge, by Abraham and Ismael, in order to offer their devotions. The European and Asiatic pilgrims meet at Damascus ; those from Africa at Cairo ; the Persians and Chaldeans, and those from Mogul Tartary, at Bagdad ; and those from Arabia and the islands of Iria meet at Zebid. Besides the spiritual benefits these poor deluded people fancy they receive for this trouble, they obtain the honourable title Hadje or pilgrim. The Hadjes wear red turbans, in order to be distinguished from the rest of the people.

were several Europeans. One of these, a Roman, had his wife and family with him. They were going to cast cannons for the Shiekh of Tugurt. They persuaded Abdallah, with many promises, to accompany them, which he did. It took them twenty days before they reached their place of destination, during which time they had to undergo a great many sufferings and privations. On their way they encountered several sand-storms, during which the whole caravan was sometimes obliged to lie with their faces to the ground for a whole day. When it ceased, they found themselves several inches deep buried in the sand. There are sometimes great hillocks of sand raised up, which are again laid level by contrary winds.

The ruler of Tugurt received this Christian party very well, gave them a house to live in, and was most happy in the anticipation of soon being in possession of cannons. He promised them many presents, and boasted of the respect with which his cannons would inspire the neighbouring Arabs. He soon, however, had reason to change his manner of treating the strangers. Neither of them knew much of cannon-making. They tried all in their power, but could not succeed. The Shiekh grew impatient, and threatened to kill them if, within another month, they did not produce at least one single cannon. Abdallah knew that threats would not increase their talents; and, afraid of his life, he thought it best to accept of an opportunity which offered itself of returning to Gereed.

The Italians remained at Tugurt, and their end

was very deplorable. I met one of them, Batista, who went in the capacity of a servant with Mr Colli, Sardinian Consul, to Tripoli, in Barbary. He told me their whole history, but it is too long for insertion: suffice it to say, that the Roman being one day provoked by the impertinence of the Arabs, imprudently cursed their religion, which they had been doing to him constantly. No sooner was this done than the poor fellow was laid prostrate on the ground by the powerful hand of an Arab who stood by. The cry, "The infidel cursed our religion!" brought great crowds, who all assisted to put an end to the life of the unfortunate man. The cruel Shiekh next gave orders that his family should follow his fate, which was obeyed by most unmercifully treating the poor wife. Batista told me that he saw her, through a hole where he lay hid, for twenty-four hours lying in the greatest agonies of death, and not one of the unmerciful Arabs taking compassion of her sufferings, till death put a termination to them. A girl of twelve years of age, a daughter of the Roman, saved her life by embracing the Mohammedan religion. Batista left her at Tugurt.

The Shiekh of Tugurt had partly his punishment in this world; for I heard when at Tunis, in 1840, that he had been poisoned (if I mistake not) by his own son. I forgot to mention, that neither the Roman nor his wife were allowed burial; they were left in the streets till dogs devoured their corpses!

When Abdallah arrived at Gereed, he found there Sidy Mohammed, the heir to the sovereignty

of Tunis, at present Collector of Revenues for the reigning Bey. To him he applied for protection to Tunis, which was kindly granted him. On the day of their departure, Abdallah received a mule to ride on, and some provision for the journey. The camp arrived at Tunis after seventeen days of pleasant travelling. Here Abdallah was brought before the reigning Bey, Sidy Ahmed, who, without farther ceremony, put him into his cavalry.

Abdallah has since advanced to the office of Shater, a kind of body-guard, and is at present so contented with his situation, that he is far from really wishing to return to the faith of his fathers. I have often spoken to him of his condition, and entreated him to return to that Saviour whom he denied ; but nothing could move him. He thought that he could mix a kind of Christianity with Mohammedanism which would ensure his going to heaven. He has married a Turkish woman, and has for ever abandoned his country, his relations, and what is more, his religion !

I shall leave Abdallah at Tunis, and proceed to give a description of this regency ; but before I do so, I would, in taking leave of him, address him once more in the words of a famous poet :—

“ Again I say, that turban tear
From off thy faithless brow, and swear
Thine injured country's sons to spear,
Or thou art lost, and ne'er shalt see—
Not earth—that's past—
If this thou dost accord, albeit
A heavy doom 'tis thine to meet,

That doom shall half absolve thy sin,
And Mercy's gate may receive thee within :
But pause one moment more, and take
The curse of him thou didst forsake :
And look once more to heaven, and see
Its love for ever shut from thee.
There is a bright cloud by the moon—
'Tis passing, and will pass full soon :
If, by the time its vapoury sail
Hath ceased her shaded orb to veil,
Thy heart within thee is not changed,
Then God and man are both avenged ;
Dark will thy doom be, darker still
Thine immortality of ill."

CHAPTER IX.

Tunis the most interesting part of North Africa.—The ruins of Carthage.—Sir Thomas Reade's excavations.—Moors.—Deplorable state of the Tunisians.—Principal mosques.—Tunisians idle.—A story about Sultan Mahmood.—The French war in Africa.—Manner of educating children.—Hatred to persons of other religions.—Colleges.—Mohammedans cultivated all sciences.—Their present ignorant state.—No missionary in Barbary.—Duty of sending the Gospel there.—The Arabic of Tunis.

THERE are but very few places in the Mediterranean, and perhaps in the whole world, that can be compared to the regency of Tunis, both as regards its climate, its natural beauty, and its abundance of resources.

Tunis, the *Africa Propria* of the Romans, and the *Afrikaah* of the Arabs, has always been the most interesting part of North Africa, and is so to this day. Its history under the Phœnicians and Romans is well known, and it is only from the time that it became Mohammedan that little is known of it. In the Introduction I have traced its history from the Saracenian invasion till the reign of Ahmed Basha, the present Bey: I shall now proceed to describe its present state. In the wanderings of Abdallah, Mohammedanism was partly illustrated, and in a description of the country and people

amongst whom he now lives, we shall see it further developed.

Tunis, the capital city of the regency of the same name, is situated upon a rising ground along the western bank of the lake, in a full prospect of the site of ancient Carthage.* It measures about four

* Though it is quite foreign to my present object to say anything respecting the daughter of Tyre, yet I cannot help mentioning a word regarding her ruins. To those who feel a greater interest in the birth-place of Hannibal, I would recommend Sir Granvil Temple's small, but learned and interesting, publication:—

"I was prepared," says the eminent author just mentioned, "to see but few vestiges of its former grandeur: it had so often suffered from the devastating effects of war, that I knew many could not exist; but my heart sunk within me when ascending one of its hills, (from whose summit the eye embraces a view of the whole surrounding country to the edge of the sea,) I beheld nothing more than a few scattered and shapeless masses of masonry. Yes, all vestiges of the splendour and magnificence of the mighty city had indeed passed away, and its very name is now unknown to the present inhabitants."

The only well preserved constructions are the cisterns situated under Burj jedeed, or new fort. They form an oblong square of 449 feet in length by 116 in breadth; there are eighteen cisterns each 93 feet long, 19 feet 8 inches wide, and to the summit of the vault 27 feet 6 inches high, but only capable of containing a depth of 17 feet of water. These cisterns were supplied by rain water, which, falling on the roof, was conducted by earthen pipes (which still exist) below.

At the village Moalka there are about thirteen or fourteen cisterns, much larger than those just mentioned, and though they are now converted into dwelling-places and stables, they are not in such good preservation as those at Burj jedeed. These were supplied with water from Zowwaan, a distance of fifty miles. The water was brought by an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still seen.

miles in circumference, and contains about 200,000 inhabitants, of whom 130,000 are Moors,* 30,000

Through the praiseworthy exertions of Sir Thomas Reade, several grand ruins have of late been discovered. He obtained permission from H. H. the Bey to excavate on the ruins of Carthage, and Mr Honnegger, a clever German architect, undertook the superintendence. The British Consul-general defrayed all the expenses. The ruins of an extensive building, about which there are many conjectures, have been laid bare. Nothing can exceed the solidity with which it was built. I believe Sir Thomas endeavoured, when in England a few years ago, to establish a society for carrying out his noble object, and it is to be regretted that his plan did not meet with that success which it certainly deserved.

At the foot of the hill at Moalka, and in the direction of the lake, are the remains of an amphitheatre, the length of which was 300 feet by 230, and the dimensions of the area 180 by 100. There are also to be seen the ruins of a small theatre facing the sea.

These, and a few more ruins, are the only remains of a city which was at one time the seat of commerce, the model of magnificence, the common store of the wealth of nations ; which was the rival of Rome, and which, notwithstanding the enormous sums it had expended during the war, contained, when taken, so much wealth, that we are assured Scipio collected, after it had been on fire for seventeen days, and after it had been given up to the pillage of his troops, objects which were valued at a sum equal to L.1,500,000 !

* Moor is the derivative from Mauritania, and was applied to the Arabian conquerors both of Africa and Spain. Some think they are descended from a mixture of the ancient Mauritians and Numidians, with the various foreign races which have, at different times, conquered and settled in the country. They themselves boast of being true descendants of Ismael. They mostly inhabit the towns along the coast, and the cultivated plains. They are, generally speaking, above the middle stature, and muscular. Their skin is swarthy, but rather fair than brown. Their face is somewhat full, and their nose is round ; the mouth of middle size, and the eye large and not lively. Their carriage is very grave.

Jews, 10,000 Christians, including 1000 Maltese, and the rest Turks and Negroes.

The streets of Tunis are narrow, dirty, filthy, and irregular. When first I arrived there, I found my way from one place to another by observing one street to be more crooked than the other, and the ruins of one house greater than those of another. The finest buildings in the town are the former Bey's Gothic palace, and the house of Mr Gneco, a respectable Genoese merchant, and the new British Consulate. The houses of Tunis, as in all Eastern countries, have flat roofs, and are supplied with cisterns to collect the rain water, which is by far superior to the water of *Beer-el-Klab*, a spring about half a mile from town.

The Tunisians are, at present, poor, owing to several successive years of bad crops with which their country has been visited, and to the many extortions which their ruler practises upon them. Their condition in 1841 was so bad, that I have actually seen the poor pick up from the streets leaves of cabbages and herbs, and devour them; nor was it uncommon to see them pick up bones out of the rubbish, and gnaw the little meat that by chance may have been left on them. And, under these circumstances, a new tax (*upon straw*) has been brought into existence!

The Mohammedans of Tunis are very bigoted; and though their hatred to Christians and Jews is very great, yet the fear and certainty of punishment, in case of insult, is sufficient to keep them in order: the Tunisian Jews, however, are often

insulted, especially by soldiers, without receiving any redress.

The Gjama Assaitona, and Gjama Sidy Ben-Aroos, are very richly endowed, and are the principal mosques in Tunis. The Gjama called Assahab-Ettaba, built by the famous Sahab-Ettaba Josof, whose fate we described in the Introduction, is a very fine edifice. He brought pillars and marble, at a great expense, from Kazareen, and other ruins, which he got polished in Italy, to adorn the interior of this mosque, which is situated in the suburbs of Bab-es-Sawekah, and is to this day called by his name. The spiritual chief is the Bash Mufti, whose influence is very great.

The Tunisians are not free from that "essence of unhappiness," idleness, to which all their neighbours in the East are so much addicted. A great part of the day is generally spent in coffee-houses, where they either tell or listen to stories. They seem to have a very fruitful mind: so that, in the absence of any thing real, they are capable of inventing. Of this the following may serve as an instance.

In traversing the streets of Tunis, I one day was accosted by a grave and respectable-looking Moor, who asked me about the news of the Levant, and about the proceedings of the young Sultan. After having partly satisfied him, he said to me—"It is for our sins that we Mohammedans are ruled by a *Christian* monarch. Think not (said he) that Abd-al Magjeed, nor his father Mahmood, are of Mohammedan origin. Mahmood has been a Greek

Catholic, in which religion he died, and it was in the same faith that he brought up his son Abd-al Magjeed, who is such to this very day in secret. What I have said may seem a mystery to you, but this will soon be removed when you listen patiently to what I am going to tell you. In the meantime, let us sit down here and take a cup of coffee together." After we had comfortably seated ourselves, and taken our cup of coffee, he commenced relating his story in the following words :—

“ Mahmood (the real Mahmood) was the legal possessor of the Ottoman throne. He was a man who feared God, loved his country, and in every thing sought the welfare of his subjects, by whom he was very much beloved. He punished vice with severity, and rewarded virtue to the best of his power. His piety, or rather fanaticism, carried him to such an extreme, that he thought it sinful to appear before any person without having a veil over his face ; yea, even before his own wives, he never appeared but with his face covered. This was the ruin of our country : it was through this that the Ottoman empire was snatched out of the hands of the people of God ; for though both the present Sultan, and all those who are in authority under him, are nominally Mohammedans, in their hearts they are all Greek Catholics. I said, because Mahmood never appeared, in public nor in private, but with his face covered, that the Ottoman empire was snatched out of our hands. Now, this took place in the following manner.

“ The Russians, who for ages have had an eye upon the Ottoman empire, knowing that Mahmood

was personally unknown to all his subjects, thought of a stratagem, in which God has suffered them to succeed. One day, whilst Mahmood was administering justice, a Russian prince arrived, and requested a private interview with the Sultan, which the latter, not suspecting any danger, granted. Both left the hall of justice for the private audience-room, whilst all officers and people patiently awaited their return. After half-an-hour the Sultan, or rather a person in the *Sultan's robes*, returned, unaccompanied by the Russian prince; the administration of justice was dispensed with for that day, the people separated, and the *Sultan*, in the customary manner, was escorted to the palace. As for the Russian prince, no one ventured, or dared to ask what became of him; so much is known, that as a *Russian prince* he was never heard of again.

“Things remained quiet for a few days: after which many new customs were introduced, both contrary to our holy religion and the manner of our forefathers; many old officers were dismissed from their service, and new ones, *unknown to the people*, were put into their places. In short, the mild, virtuous, and religious Mahmood, was changed into a haughty, vicious, and godless character. Is there any necessity for me to tell you that the Russian prince now played the part of Mahmood? Here the old saying—he took off the veil from his face—may well be applied! All this God suffered to take place, as he will yet suffer many more things of a similar nature; for our traditions teach us that all Mohammedan countries will fall into the hands of the

infidel Christians until Christ will come again, (*in whose second coming even you believe,*) who will rescue our countries from the hands of our oppressors, and will give us dominion both in heaven and in earth, whilst those who oppressed us (here he made mention of the French and their possessions in Northern Africa*) will have no country in this

* The unrighteous war of the French in Africa reminds me of the Scythians, who prevented the invasion of their country by the answer they gave to the ambassador of Uxores, king of Persia, who threatened them with war. "Nothing," said they, "could be more welcome to us than to engage in a war with your master; we having but little to lose if conquered, and if victorious, shall be great gainers by the spoils of Persia." The Arabs can, with great truth, say the same to the French; and, indeed, they have said so more than once. The only difference between the Persians and the French is this: the former wisely desisted from their enterprise, whilst the latter are madly bent upon their folly, which may ultimately prove their ruin.

The Mohammedan never forgets to refer all events to Providence. As a reason why the children of the Prophet lost their country, we are all naturally reminded that it was because they offended God. "All this," says the secretary of the Chief Kadi of Bona, in an unpublished account of the capture of Bona, "is the action of God, the Most High, which he decreed in his ancient knowledge. It was absolutely necessary that this should arrive, because the Mussulmans had corrupted themselves. Their justice is distorted; they don't observe their religion. All their actions are sinful: they have abandoned prayer; they do not fast in the month of Ramadan; they don't distribute alms; when you entrust your secrets to another Mussulman, he deceives you; when the Mussulmans make an agreement or covenant, they don't maintain it; there remains to them nothing but the *name* of a Mussulman. They rob on the highways; they devour the goods of others unjustly; they drink wine; they suborn false witnesses; the adulterer cohabits with other

world, and in the world to come they will be tormented by the devils in hell."

Here my informant was interrupted by a friend who called him away. As to the veracity of the above, let the reader judge for himself.

There are, however, some who know to make better use of their time: I mean the learned class. These are, nevertheless, very bigoted. They think it a great sin to give an Arabic book into a Christian's or Jew's hand; and a Mohammedan who would venture to give an Arabic lesson to an infidel would endanger his life.

There are many schools here, in which the children are instructed in writing and reading Arabic, and in reciting the Koran. The school is an open place like a shop; the bustle and noise in the streets do not annoy the scholars, who sit upon the ground, before a small desk, and read their lessons aloud, balancing themselves constantly. There are no girls in the schools.

The first effort of Mohammedan education is, to root deep in the mind of their children a high contempt of all other religions; from babes, they are carefully taught to distinguish them by the opprobrious name Kafer, or infidel. This habit becomes so forcible by the time they are men, that they can use no other term; they follow them with it in

women, not his own wives; they permit the things prohibited; they do not give alms to the poor and miserable. God is not pleased with their actions, for they have become like the Pagans. They do not follow God nor his prophet. For all this God has taken away the kingdom from their hands, and given it to the Christians."

every street, and will often affect pushing against them with the utmost contempt.

Men of dignity, or those of a rank above the populace, behave with seeming courtesy and complaisance, though often with a sort of stern superiority; but you are scarce dismissed, however civilly, before they will honour you with the high title of Kelb, or dog,—the animal they hold the most odious, detestable, and impure of the whole creation.

The poorest and most miserable—those who are most dependent on the Christian, who live with him, and would starve without him—will not give him the Salam Aleka, or Peace upon you. If a mixed party of Christians and Mohammedans stand together, and one passing wishing to salute, he will not say, “Peace upon you,” for so the infidel might be included, but he will say, “Peace upon those who follow the true direction.” To this salutation I often said “Amen,” which generally led us into a religious conversation, and to a definition of the “*true direction*.” I had a servant whom I used to call Sidy, or my Lord, whilst he, if I had killed him, would not have called me otherwise than ârfi, or master. On one occasion I was in a Mohammedan shop, when a beggar entered, asking me for alms; in addressing me he called me Sidy, which exasperated my friend, the shopkeeper, so much, that he almost threw the poor beggar out head over heels. “What!” said he, “will you call an infidel ‘my Lord?’”

There is a kind of college, called Meddraseah, attached to every mosque. The largest college

belongs to the mosque called Assaitona. Several hundred students belong to it, who are fed and lodged upon the public expense. Their studies are chiefly confined to theology.

When we consider that Mohammedanism was once instrumental in the revival of letters; that Mohammedans cultivated with tolerable success mathematics, algebra, astronomy, anatomy, surgery, chemistry, botany; and that, in short, they were the depositaries of learning for several centuries, and that it passed through them into Europe; we cannot but wonder at their present determined disgust at it. "The African writers dwell with pride and satisfaction on the literary institutions which adorned the towns on the northern coast of their sandy plain. The sun of science arose even in Africa, and the manners of the Moorish savage were softened by philosophy. Their brethren in Europe amassed numerous and magnificent collections; two hundred and eighty thousand volumes were in Cordova, and more than seventy libraries were open to public curiosity in the kingdom of Andalusia."* I have, indeed, here and there found a fragment of Plato and Aristotle; but upon the whole, I may say, ignorance reigns in North Africa with an iron sceptre. But what is worse, they are ignorant of the only way of salvation. Ought not Europe, for the blessing she has received from the barbarians, return the obligation by sending them

* Mills. Consult Leo. Casiri. *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*, tom. ii. pp. 38, 71, 201, 202, &c. &c.

the genuine and pure word of God? It may truly be said of Barbary, "There is none to comfort her." They all hear her sighs, they all pass by, but there is none to comfort her. This country is so near to Europe, and yet no church thinks of sending missionaries there. It is a mistaken notion that nothing can be done there. The Moors are always ready to speak on religion; indeed, you can hardly ever speak to them on another topic. They are also ready to purchase the Scriptures. I have sold them more than one copy. It is true, humanly speaking, there are insurmountable difficulties to prevent them from embracing Christianity; but yet, who can tell what the effects of a word in season may be? We ought to do all in our power to introduce again Christianity into that benighted country, and so do our part towards establishing Christ's kingdom, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.

The Mohammedan empire must and will fall ere long; for the time will come "when the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God," and that glorious time is not far distant. Let the light of truth penetrate these dark regions, and "all the efforts of Grand Seignors, Sultans, Bashaws, and Muftis, to extinguish it, will be unavailing. Though various causes may combine to impede its progress, yet its ultimate success is certain and irresistible."*

From what I have already said, it will naturally

* The Rev. Mr Neal's Mohammedan System of Theology, p. 242.

appear that the literature of Tunis must be poor. It must, however, be remembered, that the Tunisians cultivate their language far more than any of their neighbours. Mr B., the author of a history of Malta, betrays great ignorance in his attempting to place the Maltee jargon upon a level with the Arabic of Tunis. The language spoken there is far purer than that of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The Tunisians give to each letter of the Arabic alphabet its full sound, which neither the Egyptians nor the Syrians do. In Egypt I heard the ج and ق pronounced like the *g* in garden, whilst there is really no such a letter in the Arabic language. In some parts of Syria the ق is not at all pronounced; as, *e.g.*, instead of قَلْتُ Kkolto, I said, they pronounce as if it were Olto; in parts of Palestine I heard the ك pronounced like *tsh*, besides many other peculiarities, such as prefixing ب before verbs,—a practice against every rule of grammar. They will say أَي شَيِّ بْتَرِيض instead of أَي شَيِّ تَرِيض What do you want? &c.

The Arabic of Syria cannot be so pure as that of Tunis, for this reason: Syria is inhabited by Arabs, whose religious differences are carried even to their language. The Maronite thinks it his duty to differ from the Greek, the Greek from the Catholic, the Catholic from the Druse; whilst the Mohammedan thinks himself in duty bound to differ from them all. But in Tunis all are Mohammedans; and as they

believe the Arabic to be a sacred language, it is very natural for them to cultivate it.

The Koran was written in the idiom used at Mecca, at that time considered the purest. This book is allowed by all to be the standard of the Arabic language; and a nation whose dialect approaches nearer to it must naturally be purer. I have been nearly four years in Tunis, during which time I studied the Arabic spoken there; I have since visited Egypt and Syria, and traversed Palestine from Dan to Beersheba; and I can impartially say, that the language of Tunis has more vocables from the Koran, and certainly resembles it more, than any of the dialects of these countries: and as the Maltee is allowed by all to be inferior to them, how, then, could Mr B. venture to compare that real jargon with the Arabic spoken at Tunis? He certainly must have known very little, or nothing at all, of either.

CHAPTER X.

The orthodox Mohammedan sects.—Their founders.—Hatred between the Sonnites and Shiites.

THE orthodox sects of Mohammedans are divided into four. Two of these are prevalent in Tunis; there are also some of the heretical sect called Hargjeah, inconsiderable in point of number, and are confined to the island of Jerba. They are very much hated by the other sects, on account of their believing that God never forgives a crime.

The most prevalent sect is called Malechea, from their founder Malec Ebn Ans, who was born at Medina in the year of the Hegira 90. He has paid great regard to the traditions of the Prophet. In his last illness, a friend going to visit him, found him in tears; and on asking the reason of it, Malec answered,—“How should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to God, that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion, I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to God I had never given any decision of my own!” He died in the year 178, and was buried at Medina. His sect has a place of prayer in the south-west corner of the Harem Shereef.

The second sect is called Hanafea, from their

founder Hanafy. He was born at Cufâ in the 80th year of the Hegira, and died in prison at Bagdad, in 150 of the same epoch, for having refused to be made Cadi or Judge. He refused to accept this high office, because, he alleged, he was unfit for it. On being asked the reason, he replied, "If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge." They say of him, that whilst he was in prison, he read the Koran no less than seven thousand times over!*

The first real dissensions among the Mohammedans happened soon after the death of their Prophet. Abubeker, or Abu Bacre, the father-in-law of Mohammed, and Ali his son-in-law, both aspired to the empire. This occasioned a dreadful contest, and was the cause of two factions, one of which acknowledged Abubeker as the true Caliph, or successor of Mohammed, and its members were called Sonnites; whilst the other adhered to Ali, and were called Shiites. Both professed to follow the Koran; but the former added to it, by way of interpretation, the Sonna, which was a certain law they considered to have been received by oral tradition from the Prophet, but which the Shiites rejected. Among the Sonnites are to be classed the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and nearly the whole of the Indian Mo-

* Shafeiah and Hanbaleah are the last two of the four great sects. The former has for its author a certain Shafe, and has only a limited influence over the sea-coast of the Indian peninsula; the latter has been founded by Hanbal, and is nowhere very much followed. For more particulars respecting these sects, see Sale's Prel. Disc.

hammedans ; while the followers of Ali are confined to the Persians and subjects of the Grand Mogul.* The Shiites, however, it must be remembered, have also tradition. These two sections have been the cause of a great deal of bloodshed. The Persians, who are the representatives of the Shiites, have always termed the other party infidels. They have, however, mitigated their religious prejudices. "They [the Shiites] are believers," they say, "because they recognise the holy mission of Mohammed, and worship God ; but they have forfeited their claim to be denominated faithful, by their adoption of those who refused allegiance, and acted with cruelty towards the cousin, the daughter, and the lineal descendants of the holy prophet." The Sonnites are not equally charitable : very few of their doctors have acknowledged the followers of Ali to be Mohammedans.† "So far is this hatred carried, that the Mufti and chief doctors of the law have more than once unanimously declared, 'to slay a Persian Shiah is more acceptable to God than to slay seventy Christians or idolaters.'"[‡] The Sonnites, we have seen, are divided into four principal sects, which have again many subdivisions. The Shiites also are not quite agreed amongst themselves.

* Collins' Summary of Mosheim.

† See Mills, and the authorities there given.

‡ Taylor's History of Mohammedanism, p. 289.

CHAPTER XI.

The Mohammedan ladies.—Description of a bath.—Polygamy.—Form of a divorce.—Opinion of marriage.—Female education.—Marriage ceremony.—Prohibited degrees of marriage.—Blessings which Christianity brought upon the woman.—St Augustin.—Description of a feast to the devil.—Duty incumbent upon Christian females.

THE Mohammedan ladies of Tunis, like those of other Eastern countries, are kept under a very strict seclusion. A rich Moor's wife never leaves the house, except to go to the bath, and that only at night; and if they find it absolutely necessary to go out during the day, their faces are covered, and their whole body is wrapped up in such a manner, that a stranger would be puzzled to find out what they are.

The bath is a luxury in which the people indulge very much. There are both public and private baths; these may differ in their ornaments and dimensions, but do not vary in their models and structure.

They consist of three rooms: the first is a large hall, where the people dress and undress; the second is a well-heated room where the bather, after remaining a few minutes, gets into a very great perspiration, and so prepares himself for the third room, which is the real bathing-room. The

bath itself is a large stone or marble cistern, large enough to receive a man lying in it at his full length. Of these cisterns, in public baths, there are more or less. They are supplied with water by several pipes conducted through the walls. The bath men or women, according to the sex of the bather, attend, wash, rub, and dry them with surprising dexterity and art, suppling and stretching the joints in a manner, that one who undergoes this operation for the first time would fancy that his bones are dislocated. The bather is supplied with bathing-clothes, which are usually of blue and white checked cotton. After the bath, you return to the first room, where you repose yourself upon a divan, partake of a cup of coffee or lemonade, and then make room for new bathers.

Though polygamy* is lawful in the Mohammedan religion, it is very seldom that a Moor in Tunis has more than two wives at the same time ; however, divorces are so easily obtained, that they may change them as often as they please.

My servant one day begged leave to go out, and on my asking him what particular business he had,

* Many of the laws of Mohammed betray the shortsightedness of their author to the extensiveness of their influence. The practice of polygamy would never be permitted by the founder of a general religion. Nature and policy are united against it ; and although it is in accordance with the licentious manners of one part of the world, mankind at large hold it in abhorrence. Silence upon the subject, or an absolute prohibition of it, would have been the course of a man who wished to legislate for all people, and all times.—Mills' History, p. 333.

his answer was, "To give my wife this divorce," showing me the paper. I told him, if he divorced his wife I would divorce him, which was sufficient inducement for him to change his opinion. He handed me the paper, and said, "No, my master, if that be the case, I will not divorce her." The following is a translation of the divorce, the cost of which is about twopence :—

"Praise to God! Ali Ben Salem Sauri from Safi, (a country in Gereed,) of the tribe of Sakim, one of the porters of Bab Alminorah, divorced his wife, the chaste Buka, the daughter of Chami, of the same tribe, of the sons of my Lord Ann. This divorce is the first she has from this husband, according to their confession. She was present [before the valary] when he returned to her the contract of marriage, and the rest of her dowry. He also pays her expenses for the time fixed in which she cannot be married to another, [four months,] also the house-rent during the above-mentioned time, and all other things of the same nature. They agreed that she is to give him, for the purpose of being delivered from him, one hundred piastres, [about L.3, 10s.,] current money, (*singe piastres.*) This sum she will pay in twice, now fifty, and the other fifty after four months, if she lives. She confessed that she is not in the family way, nor does she even doubt of being so. And upon such conditions she was divorced.

"That the above parties were in their perfect senses on the ninth of the month Alkadi, (the respected,) of the year five and fifty and two hun-

dred and one thousand, (of the Hejira,) is certified by

“The humble of the Lord,

AHMED, son of ALI ALMAKBI,

“And by

MOHAMMED ALHANNAH.

“The help of God be upon all! By his favour. Amen.”

After divorce, they may retake the same woman a second, but not the third time, unless she has been married to another man. No man can marry a divorced woman sooner than four months and a half after a total separation from the former husband. The man may oblige the divorced woman to nurse any infant she has born him till it is two years old.

The Tunisians, especially females, as well Mohammedan as Jewish, marry very young; it is not an uncommon thing to see young boys of thirteen or fourteen married to girls of eleven or twelve, and sometimes even under that age. They are joined together on the good faith of their parents or relations; for they are never permitted to see each other before the nuptial night. They consider it wrong, and even sinful, if a man has reached his twentieth year and is not married. One can hardly form a fair estimate of the beauty of the female sex, as so few are seen; however, it is a fact, that the girls of twelve have the appearance of European females of twenty, and when they reach the age of thirty, they look like European women of fifty!

The female education is very much neglected;

their great accomplishments are singing and dancing ; but they are practised in private only, simply as domestic amusements, or to pass an idle hour. The men think dancing, singing, or playing any instrument, as unbecoming their dignity. European music or singing makes little or no impression on them. They think their national music, with all its discordancy, by far superior.

Excessive obesity is considered the perfection of female beauty in this country ; hence, a young woman, after she is betrothed, receives gold or silver shackles upon her ankles and wrists, and she is fed so long till these are filled up. A kind of seed called drough, and their national dish cuscusu, are used for the purpose. The young lady is literally crammed, and some actually die under the spoon.

I have already said, that the parties to be married do not see each other till the nuptial night. There are, however, certain persons sent from the man, who examine the lady, and give him a faithful report of her bodily accomplishments. They are generally old women, relations of the parties. If the man finds himself disappointed, he has a right to send her away, without giving her the portion that was promised her, or rather the price that was to be paid for her, as the wife is bought by the husband.

After the documents have been legally signed by the Kadi, it becomes the man's business to take home his bride. There is generally a great exhibition of the articles which she brings to her hus-

band, both of furniture and dress. These effects are placed upon horses or mules, and paraded through the streets. The bride next proceeds to the bath, accompanied by slaves and her nearest relations, with great pomp. The procession proceeds very slowly, a band of their sweet national musicians, and many women and boys, with their loud cries of *lu-lu-lu-lu*, follow them. This is always done at night. The bride is then paraded with great ceremonies to the house of the bridegroom, and brought into a separate part of the house, where she entertains her female friends, whilst he does the same to his male ones, till the time comes for the company to break up, and for introducing the new couple to each other.

Feasts are continued for many days after the marriage; amongst the poorest they last seven days. They are generally no losers by these entertainments, as it is customary for those invited to bring suitable presents, which sometimes amount to a great deal.

Mohammed also saw the necessity of imitating Moses in prohibiting certain degrees of marriage. In the fourth chapter of the Koran, he says, "Marry not women whom your fathers have had to wife. Ye are forbidden to marry your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts, both on the fathers' and mothers' side, and your brothers' daughters, and your mothers-in-law, and your foster-sisters, and your wives' mothers, and your daughters-in-law, and the wives of your sons; and you are also forbidden to take to wife two sisters."

In all ages, whether amongst civilized or uncivilized nations, there have been found both contemners and advocates of females. But it was left for Christianity to give them that prominent position to which they are lawfully entitled. There is a passage extant in the literature of an ancient and civilized nation to the following effect:—"It is as little possible that wisdom should be found amongst women, as for an ass to ascend a ladder." Of Socrates it is also said, that he compared women to the brute creation. The laws of Scythia forbade women's testimony to be taken, in consideration of their "levity, their prejudice, and malice." Such was the degraded state of her, who was made equal in rank, dignity, and station, with the other sex; and such is her state to this day, in those countries where the light of the gospel has not yet penetrated. How then ought Christian females to exert themselves to promote that religion amongst all nations, which has taken them out of that degraded condition, and restored them to their original position assigned to them by the Lord of the creation! The Jewish, the Mohammedan, and heathen daughters, call especially for their aid.

Something has, however, of late been done almost for every part of the world. Barbary alone has not a single missionary; and how shall the inhabitants of that part of the world hear the gospel except it be preached to them? And who shall preach, if no one is sent? There is not even the least vestige of Christianity left in the fatherland of Tertullian,

Cyprian, Lactantius, and Augustin.* There is a heavy obligation upon us to introduce the message of salvation to the millions of Mohammedans, and the hundreds of thousands of Jews, who inhabit the northern shores of Africa.

In a country where the woman is taught neither reading nor writing ; where the cultivation of her mind is entirely neglected ; where her faculties are only fixed upon ornaments, dress, and food ; where, in short, she is on a level with the brute creation, —considered as “a useful and necessary animal ;” it is no wonder that superstition has its sway over their minds. Amongst the many other absurdities common amongst the Tunisian females, there is one called the Gjnoon feast, or the feast for the devil. The circumstances connected with this feast are the following.

* I noticed, in a number of “The Protestant Magazine,” about eighteen months ago, that M. Dupack, the Bishop of Algiers, had brought to Toulon the relics of St Augustin. Where this prelate got them from, I cannot tell. For my part, I am more certain that the worshippers of dead men’s bones will pay adoration to the remains of one of the followers of Okba, who bathed his sword in the blood of more than one Christian, than to those of the learned Bishop of Hippo ; who, I am confident, if he could now speak, would loudly protest against this detestable and abominable idolatry. St Augustin, according to a tradition amongst the Arabs, died at Gomet, between the Atlas and Morocco. After the introduction of Mohammedanism into Barbary, he was received into their number of saints, and is known as such to this day, by the name Sidy Belabach. His writings were greatly prized by Muley Sidan, king of Morocco, as may be seen from “Several queries answered concerning Mauritania, &c.,” by Sieur Roland Frejus.

The Gjenuon, or devil, causes a lady to fancy some articles, either of dress or jewellery, and until her husband (the lady is always a married one) procures her the article, the gjenuon torments her in the most pitiless manner. But the tormentor is not satisfied to see the lady in possession of a fine pair of ear-rings, a handsome dress, a nice diamond pin, or a gold watch, but he must have something for himself, or rather for his trouble, and that *something* is nothing less than a splendid feast of ladies *exclusively*! I, however, was permitted by particular favour to attend one of these feasts at Nabil, the ancient Neapolis, and am therefore able to give a description of it.

The room in which it was celebrated was beautifully illuminated and surrounded with Ottomans, upon which the ladies, amounting to forty, were luxuriously reclining, amongst whom was the lady possessed by the gjenuon. All of them were beautifully dressed, and none of them, judging from their appearance, were more than forty years of age, though there were some who were no more than fifteen. After I had been there a few moments, supper was brought in, and *kuskuso*, the favourite dish of Barbary, was of course not excluded. They all sat down on the ground, and some with spoons, whilst others with their hands, partook freely of the food. I was invited to join them, which of course I did, and had also the pleasure to be favoured with a spoon.

After supper, they all took their former places, and a band of music began to amuse, or rather annoy us,

at least myself, with their national tunes. All the ladies sat quiet, till of a sudden one of them, a young woman of about twenty, arose, and began to dance by herself; she was soon followed by several others, who were wheeling rapidly round, and all of them worked themselves into such a frenzy, that from weakness they fell to the ground, where they lay, till, recovering their strength, they recommenced their madness. This lasted a considerable time. The lady with the gjenoon was sitting quiet on the ottoman. When the visitors had finished their amusement, she arose, and followed their example; and when she, like the others, was stretched on the floor, one of the spectators arose and asked what article she fancied, to which she made no reply. The former then mentioned several articles of dress, asking whether she wished any of them; and when the article which the gjenoon-lady desired was mentioned, (I believe a shawl,) she suddenly started up, which was the signal that the feast of the gjenoon was considered as finished.

This horrible superstition, it must be remembered, is not peculiar to the Mohammedans; the Jews living amongst them practise it also, and thus become partakers of their iniquity. How deplorable it is to see nations sunk so deep in superstition! Here is a direct service of the devil. I might add a great deal more respecting the evil eye, astrology, charming, and soothsaying, in which the inhabitants of Barbary place a great deal of credulity; but enough has, I trust, been said, to show that there is a heavy obligation resting upon Christen-

dom, and especially upon Christian ladies, to do all in their power towards introducing that light into Barbary which alone is able to dispel that gross darkness which reigns there.

CHAPTER XII.

Dervishes.—Their character.—The Biography of a Roman Catholic priest who embraced Mohammedanism, and is considered a saint.—He wrote a refutation of Christianity.

THE Mohammedans of Tunis exercise a great deal of credulity about dervishes. In this class of people are included all those who are deprived of their senses, and even down-right impostors ; all of whom are more fit “for chains and compassion, than for liberty and admiration.” These saints often commit the greatest outrages without receiving the proper punishment. As I was once passing the great mosque, one of them came out, and, with his stick, gave me a blow, which I felt for several days ; but what could I do to him ? *He was a saint.* A Moorish friend of mine told me of one who possessed the power to visit the tomb of the Prophet, and there offer his devotions, *and within half an hour be back in Tunis !* Of another I was told who made it a regular practice to go daily to Bar Nassara, the land of the Christians, there kill ever so many infidels, and return also in a very short time. To hear these monstrous stories told by a venerable-looking Arab, with an incredible gravity, must be heart-rending to every Christian. On one occasion, one of these dervishes was pointed out to

me, who possessed the power to perform miracles. I was told that he once entered a coffee-house that was full of people, and ordered them all to leave it instantly, which they no sooner did than the whole place was laid in a heap of ruins! This man was always seen mounted on a very small ass.

If the practices of these people were to rest here, one might overlook them; but this is not the case. Their actions, with perhaps a few exceptions, are so depraved, that a European would shudder to hear them recorded; and yet, I have since found, that the dervishes of Tunis are not half so bad as they are elsewhere.* Horrid as their characters are, yet

* Locke, in his chapter of "No innate principles," quotes a passage from Baumgarten's Travels, a book to which I have no access; but as it illustrates the character of these *precious saints*, (as Locke calls them,) I shall avail myself of it as given by him. I must, however, remind my readers, that I do not wish to be understood to apply it *altogether* to the Dervishes of Tunis. The passage runs thus:—"Ibi (sc. prope Belbes in Ægypto) vidimus sanctum unum Saracenicum inter arenarum cumulos, ita ut ex utero matris prodiit nudum sedentem. Mos est, ut didicimus, Mahometistis, ut eos qui amentes et sine ratione sunt, pro Sanctis colant et venerentur. Insuper et eos qui cum diu vitam egerint inquinatissimam, voluntariam demum poenitentiam et paupertatem, sanctitate venerandos deputant. Ejusmodi verò genus hominum libertatem quandam effrænam habent, domos quas volunt intrandi, edendi, bibendi et quod majus est, concubendi; ex quo concubitu, si proles secuta fuerit, sancta similiter habetur. His ergo hominibus, dum vivunt, magnos exhibent honores; mortuis verò vel templa vel monumenta extruunt amplissima, eosque; contingere ac sepelire maximæ fortunæ ducunt loco. Audivimus hæc dicta et dicenda per interpretem a Mucelo nostro. Insuper Sanctum illum, quem eo loco vidimus, publicitus apprimè commendari, eum esse hominem sanctum, divinum ac integritate præcipuum; eo

these are the persons who live upon the public charity, and, when they die, have pompous funerals, and rich monuments or chapels erected for them, "to hand down their names to posterity, and to which the people flock on certain days to implore their assistance, and pardon for their sins"! One of these personages I shall notice here more particularly.

In the midst of a crooked but much frequented street in Tunis, called Ash-shu-ka-jeen, the eye of the curious and attentive observer is arrested by a tomb, which, from its outward appearance, shows it to be the tomb of a holy person. One naturally feels an anxiety to know who its inhabitant may have been, and what his merits were, for receiving such a mark of distinction, as allowing his tomb to remain in the midst of a public street. My curiosity, in passing several times through that street, was raised, and I made continual inquiries respecting this saint, but could not for some time receive any satisfactory answers, till one day, in passing the shop of one of my Moorish friends, and seeing him reading an Arabic manuscript, I asked him what it was? to which he answered, "I am reading '*Abd Allah's refutation of Christianity*;' he had been a Roman Catholic priest, and came to this country and embraced our faith, in which he lived and died; he was beloved by all who knew him, as his life was very holy. Before his death he requested to be buried in the street called Ash-shu-

quod, nec fœminarum unquam esset, nec puerorum, sed tantum modo asellarum concubitur atque mularum."—*Peregr. Baumgarten*, c. i. p. 73.

ka-jeen, where you can see his tomb, which has withstood the ravages of time during 500 years." I was very glad finally to have got the information I so long had sought after. I requested my friend to lend me the manuscript, but he, on the ground that I was not *holy enough*,* refused. I, however, have since obtained a copy of Abd Allah's work, and as his Biography, written by himself, is attached to it, I take the trouble to translate it, and I am sure it will be read by many with interest.

THE BIOGRAPHY.

"Let it be known unto thee, O! Reader, that I am a native of Majorca, and that I am the only son of one of the principal inhabitants of that place. At six years of age I was put to the care of a priest, who instructed me in the rudiments of the Christian religion. When eight years old I commenced to study Greek and Logic, which I pursued till my eighteenth year, when I left my native

* The Mohammedans of Tunis will never give an Arabic book into either a Christian or Jew's hand. Upon the Koran they generally write "*La yamassoho illa motaheran*," (Let no one touch it unless he be purified :) and this the infidels certainly are not. Both Jews and Christians are prohibited from studying the Arabic language. Hence, it is no wonder that from 30,000 Jews which inhabit Tunis, I only found Mr M. Santiliano, Sir Thomas' Secretary, and Mr Nigjar, (who is mentioned by M. De Sacy and Professor Habicht as an Arabic scholar,) who knew that language; and the latter began to study it in Paris! As the Jews speak Arabic and read Hebrew, I think it would be very advisable to send them the Holy Scriptures in Arabic with the Hebrew characters.

place, and proceeded to ———, which is a place of great renown for literature. In ——— the students are obliged to dress in a peculiar black habit, and to conform to a very strict discipline, from which even princes are not exempted. The students form a separate body from the rest of the people, and are not subject to the same laws. The priest, who was the Principal of the College, was an old man, of long standing, and great reputation. All differences in the Christian religion were brought before him, and he never failed in his decision to satisfy all parties ; his word was almost a law to the Professors of Christianity. It was under this great man that I resumed my studies, to the satisfaction of my parents. I soon gained favour in his sight, so much so that he made me lodge in his house, and entrusted to me all his property. I remained with him ten years, and the reason for my leaving him then, is the following :—

“ It happened just before the end of the ten years that my *Master* was taken ill, and therefore could not, as his custom was, come to lecture, in which cases I used to take his place. On the present occasion I did the same, and the part of Scripture which I chose for the instruction of my pupils was where the Lord speaks through his prophet, ‘ Behold I will send a Prophet after thee, whose name will be Faraklete.’* This prophet I tried very

* Allusion is here made to John xiv. 16, where our Lord says, “ Και εγω ερωτησω τον πατερα, και αλλον παρακλητον δωσει υμιν, ινα μενη μεθ’ υμων εις τον αιωνα. Here, the Mohammedan doctors say, is a prediction of their

hard to explain, but could not. When I returned home I asked my master to explain this prediction to me; but he said, 'This noble name is only known to those who are deeply learned in the *Things of God*, of which kind there are only few.' On hearing this, I was more desirous to know the meaning of this mystery than before; I, therefore, fell on my knees before him, and said, 'O my Lord! thou knowest I have left my friends, and my home, and came to thee, and served thee faithfully these ten years for no other purpose than to obtain knowledge. I thank thee for what thou hast done for me; but do, do, I pray thee, let me know the meaning of this part of Scripture.'

"When he saw me so very desirous, he said to me, 'My son, the advantage of knowing who this prophet, and accuse us of having altered *περικλυτος*, very celebrated, famous, &c., a word of the same signification as

ⲙⲕ for *παρακλητος*, comforter, exhorter, &c. The Jews, to whom our Lord was speaking, well knew what he meant by *παρακλητος*, for this word פֶּרְקִלִּיטָא had been adopted in their language, as also many others: *e. g.* פֶּרְגִּמְטוֹס from *πραγματευς*, a merchant; פֶּרְהֶסִיא from *παρρησια*, openly; פֶּרְדִּיט from *ιδιωτης*, a private, &c. The followers of the Arabian prophet must have been directed to this prediction by the Persian Manichæans—an heretical sect of the third century, whose founder, Manes, affirmed that he was the promised comforter, and was sent to perfect the unfinished doctrine of salvation; he, however, was put to death by Varanes I., King of Persia, before he could carry out his real design. The Mohammedans call their prophet Faraklete, on account of their not having a letter in the Arabic language to express the Greek π. The above quotation is false, evidently given to suit Abdallah's purpose.

Faraklete is, is very great, and I am perfectly willing to make it known to thee ; but mind, thy life will be in great danger if thou doest not keep it in secret till thou art in a country where thou mayest confess openly thy belief in this mysterious name. Were I not already an old man, I should certainly not remain a moment here, but would have gone to such a country ; but now I am old, and know not the language of the people, nor their customs. But not so with thee ; thou art young, and wilt soon adapt thyself to their manners. I, therefore, advise thee not to tarry any longer, but at once to be off. Now, this *Faraklete* is no other than Mohammed, the founder of the Mohammedan religion ; it is he who is here predicted by Jesus, in whose religion, if the Christians had remained, they would certainly have believed in Mohammed, (upon whom may the peace of God rest!) I will give you the necessary expenses for your journey, and advise you, as I have already said, to go to a Mohammedan country.'

I at once consented to the advice of this learned man, and accepted fifty gold pieces which he gave me for travelling expenses, and returned to my native place Majorca, to take a final leave of my friends, as I knew the step which I was about to take would for ever separate me from them. I remained at home six months, when an opportunity offered for Tunis, which I embraced, and arrived here safely in company of some other Christians, after a passage of a few days.

The Christians of Tunis, as soon as they

heard of my arrival, came to the Goletta, and carried me with great honours to the capital. I lived with them a few days, during which time I made all necessary inquiries. They informed me that Abo* Abas, the then reigning prince, had a physician called Josef, who spoke the Italian language, for which I was very glad, as I knew not a word of Arabic. I called on Josef, and told him my reason for having come to Tunis. He was very glad to be the instrument of bringing me to the truth of the Mohammedan religion, and at once took me with him to Abo Abas, who, after hearing my request, received me very kindly, and appointed the following day to initiate me as a member of their community.

“ I thanked the king, but begged him, before my intentions were made known publicly, to call all the Christians who knew me, and ask them what opinion they entertained of me? This pleased him very much, and he immediately sent for them, and to all questions he put to them respecting me, he received the most satisfactory answers. ‘ But,’ said Abo Abas to them, ‘ what do you think of this great man embracing our faith?’ ‘ God forbid!’ exclaimed they; ‘ this he never will do.’ I was then called from the antechamber, where I had been all this time, and was asked by the king to declare my intentions to the Christians openly, which I did in a long speech. The consternation

* This is the same Abo Abas, who, as we have already seen in the Introduction, was the first that declared himself King of Tunis.

with which they were struck was very great indeed. They begged me, offered me sums of money, and made me all sorts of promises to induce me to recant; and finding that they could not succeed, they began to talk all manner of evil of me, which, from the precaution I had taken, could not have the intended effect. The following day I was received into the faith of our prophet Mohammed, (peace be upon him!) and a few days after, Abo Abas gave me in marriage to the daughter of *Hagj Mohammed*, with a handsome dowry. By her I had a son, whom I called after the name of our holy prophet.

“ Five months after I had embraced the Mohamedan faith, Abo Abas invested me with the office of Captain of the port, and at the same time sent me teachers to instruct me in the Arabic language, as he intended to make me his interpreter. The king had soon need of me in my latter office, owing to several French ships anchoring off Mehediah, to which place troops were immediately dispatched, headed by Abo Abas himself. I, with a few other officers, were sent on board of these vessels, and after a few satisfactory negotiations, they weighed anchor and sailed. From Mehediah I went with our prince to Kabis; from thence to Kafsah, where he was taken with a severe illness, in which he died in the month Ghaban, in the year of the prophet 896.

“ Abo Abas was succeeded to the throne of Tunis by his son, our Lord Abo Fares. This prince added to the kindness of his noble father

towards me, and also left me in command of the port.

“One day as a Mohammedan vessel was on the point of entering our bay, she was pursued and captured by a Christian vessel of war; the crew, however, had time enough to save themselves. The Christian vessel with the prize then entered, and anchored in our port. Abo Fares, pitying the misfortune of the poor believers, sent some of his ministers on board the Christian vessel with full power to treat with them for the vessel and property of the Mohammedans, in which mission, after a long parley, they could not succeed.

“The principal person on board of it was a Sicilian priest, who, when the ministers were about returning on shore, asked them whether they knew Abd Allah the Captain of the port; and whether they would take a letter for him; to which they answered in the affirmative. Accordingly he gave them the letter; but they, instead of delivering it to me, had it translated, and brought both the original and translation to Abo Fares, who, after reading it, sent for me, and gave me the priest's letter; and I, after perusing its contents, was obliged in the presence of Abo Fares to laugh, who no sooner perceived it than he asked me the reason. I replied to him, ‘My Lord, if thou wilt know why I behaved so rudely in thy presence, then allow me to translate this letter for thee into Arabic, that thou mayest understand its contents.’ This he allowed me; and I translated the letter in his presence, of which the following is a copy:—

“ ‘After many salutations from thy brother Francis the priest, I let you know that I have arrived in this place for the purpose of taking you back with me to Sicily. My reputation in Sicily is very great ; by my council the whole kingdom is ruled. Now I beg of you, accept my advice, and return to the blessed religion of God. Think nothing of giving up your property ; I have an abundance to recompense you for all your losses ; and remember, that after all, the things of this world are only transient, and will soon pass away, and that the things of God are eternal, and will remain for ever. Return to God, and to the light of the Christian religion, from the darkness of Mohammedanism, and know that there is a Holy Trinity which rules all, and that man cannot separate what God has united. Hasten to answer this note in the affirmative, that we may make our necessary arrangements. Till then I remain your brother and true friend,

FRANCIS.’

“ Abo Fares was very much rejoiced to find how well my translation coincided with the one he already had, and with me he laughed at the blindness of these infidels. ‘But,’ said Abo Fares to me, ‘what answer will you give this priest?’ ‘My answer, my Lord,’ said I, ‘is known to thee from the time I first knew thee, and the same answer I will now give him.’ ‘No, my son Abd Allah,’ replied the prince, ‘stop ; *intrigue in this instance is lawful*.* Write the priest to get the property of the

* “Public faith need be kept, however, with alien or hostile infidels, only as long as is convenient to the Mussulmans.

Mohammedans restored on the proposed conditions, and that, as you are the Commander of the port, it will be your duty to bring on board the necessary documents, &c., and that when once you are with them, and have nothing to fear, you will declare yourself again a Christian.' I did as the king advised me, and we got back the property of the believers, whilst the infidels did not even see me, and for shame left immediately for their country."

Thus far Abd Allah speaks of himself: he then recounts the many good and noble actions of Abo Fares, the King of Tunis, amongst which are the building of new mosques, and some public establishments; also a library in the Great Mosque, called Assaitona. Saint Abd Allah, as I have already stated, requested before his death to be buried where his tomb now is, in order that it may be a monument to all passers-by, of his conversion to the Mohammedan faith. For this request, and for his "*Refutation of Christianity*," he has been canonized, especially for the latter, as he never makes mention of Christians without adding epithets of a most opprobrious nature. Abd Allah's tomb is in good preservation to this very day.

War is the ordinance of God; and when peace does not advance the Mussulman's interest, the treaty may be broken, on giving notice to the enemy; and if the enemy act with perfidy in a peace, the attack may be made without notice." —Mills, p. 330; Hedaya, ix. 3. Upon this doctrine, I dare say, Abu Fares founded his remark.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mohammedans and Jews pay great respect to the dead.—

An illustration of Scripture.—Copy of an inscription upon a tombstone.—Visiting the sick.—Funeral.—Sepulchral examination.—Slaves often receive their freedom when their masters die.—Slavery in Tunis.—Partially abolished through the influence of Sir Thomas Reade.—Cav. Gasparry falsely accused of having permitted the exportation of slaves, and loses his situation on account of it.

THE Mohammedans, as also the Jews, pay great respect to their dead relations; the tombs are always kept clean, and delicately whitewashed. In looking on these burial-grounds, one cannot help being reminded of the words of our Saviour in Mat. xxiii. 27: "For ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." It is a common thing to see men and women come and pour forth their prayers to the remains of those whom they once loved, and from whom they ignorantly ask assistance, instead of offering their prayers to Him who is able to hear and answer them. There are sometimes handsome inscriptions to be found on the grave-stones. The following may serve as an instance.

"In the name of the most merciful God. May God be propitious and show favour to Mohammed and to his family. There is no power, nor might, but with God the Almighty.

To God belongeth majesty and immortality ; he has destined that his creation should pass away. There is an instance of this in the apostle of God.

"This is the sepulchre of Mabroka, the daughter of Hasan, the son of Ali, the son of Hamed, the son of Fakusa, (may God have mercy upon all of them!) She died on Monday, the 13th of the most respected month Dsi Elkadi, in the year of the Hegira 1056, professing that there is only one God and Mohammed his apostle !

"Although this state of probation is transitory, in the hour of my resurrection, when the Creator shall restore me to life, I shall again behold my kindred, and be joyful and happy in receiving my reward."

Visiting the sick is considered a great charity amongst the Mohammedans, but I do not think it is much practised at Tunis. The sick are, however, visited by the priests, who pray with them, and, after their manner, prepare the dying to approach his Creator. When the sick person has expired, some of the priests wash the body, and prepare it for burial, which is generally done the same day, except when the person dies before evening, in which case he is buried the following day. During the night that the corpse is in the house, the neighbours come together to watch by it, reciting parts of the Koran, but especially singing the "La Elah illa Allah," There is no God but God.

When they carry the body to the grave, one or more priests, with a few laymen, go before it, singing, "May God be merciful to him! There is no God but God. He (God) is the first without beginning. He is the last without end." Some are buried in a bier, but not the generality, for

they believe that those who are buried without it have more merit. After the body is laid in the grave, these prayers are offered :—"O Lord ! put aside the earth, and cause his soul to ascend, and forgive it when it is with thee." Next : "We are of God, and to him must we return. O God ! he is gone to dwell with thee, and thou art the best dwelling-place. Do remove the earth on both sides of him, and open the gates of heaven to receive his soul ; and take it to thyself with a good acceptance, and confirm his speech in the time of trial."

Here again Mohammed has borrowed one of the Jewish fables. His followers believe that both body and soul remain in the grave until the day of judgment, and that, immediately after the burial, the angel Munoker, or Nunkar, with a heavy mace, accompanied by another angel called Nekir, present themselves to the dead, and ask them who their God is ? who their prophet is ? what their belief is ? If they be true Mohammedans, and profess the same, then they are permitted to rest in peace, and see what is done in heaven through a little window ; but those who are not, take the angel for God, because of his extraordinary bulk, and therefore worship him, when he gives them a blow with the mace, and shuts them up within their sepulchres, so that they see nothing that passes.*

The whole of this is a fable, taken, with few

* "This sepulchral examination is a great subject of ridicule among sceptics. A Persian nobleman once interrupted a preacher in the mosque, by exclaiming to the astonished congregation—"All that that fellow says about Nunkar and

alterations, from the Jews* ; and this is the trial alluded to in the above prayer. A few more prayers and prostrations are performed by the bystanders, when, in conclusion, the dead is thus addressed, either by a priest, or by anybody else:—"Be mindful of the covenant with which thou hast gone out of this world, bearing witness that there is no God but God alone, and that Mohammed is his Prophet; and that Paradise is for certain, and the resurrection for certain; and that the hour will come, of which there is no doubt; and that God will raise up all who are in their graves; and that thou dost embrace God alone for thy Lord, and Islamism for

Nekir is a lie. My servant died four days ago; and as I was resolved to discover the truth, I stuffed his mouth quite full with dry grain. I have since opened his grave, and the grain is exactly where it was placed: it is, therefore, quite impossible that he should have spoken to man or angel."—Mills' History, p. 298.

* Buxtorf, in his "Synagoga Judaica," after describing the angel of death, &c., says, (p. 713,) "Elias, præstantissimus ille Grammaticus, in Tisbite suo scribit, ad radicem **חבט**, hanc esse Rabbinorum suorum sententiam; quum Judæus ex hac vitâ excessit, Angelum mortis venire, et super sepulchro ejus sedere, animam in corpus denuò intrare, illudque in pedes erigere, tum Angelum mortis catenam accipere, cujus altera pars est ferrea, altera ignea, quâ corpus hominis duobus ictibus ferit: primo ictu dissolvi omnia membra ejus, altero omnia ossa ejus dissipari, ubi verò tertium ictum addiderit, in pulverem et cinerem redigi: bonos postea angelos venire, qui ossa simul colligunt et sepulchro reddunt." This torment is called by the Jews **חבט הקבר**, the "scourging or beating of the grave," and is believed by all of them.

thy religion, and Mohammed (upon whom be the peace of God!) for thy prophet, &c. . . . My Lord is God himself; there is no God but him, and he is Lord of the highest heaven." After this, the Fatiha (the first chapter of the Koran) is read, when the people return to their respective homes.*

The rich make feasts for the poor for some weeks after any of their relations die, and repeat the same on the anniversary day for a considerable time. There are many poor in Tunis who make it a regular practice to live upon these feasts, and on marriages, where similar entertainments are made for them. I know one, by name Ben Yehye, a kind of dwarf, but very good-natured, who keeps a book to regulate his dinners. Whenever I met him, I used to ask him, "Ben Yehye, where do you dine to-day?" He would then sit down, take his book, which he kept in a little basket, and tell me.

When a rich Moor dies, and is in possession of slaves, which is generally the case, some of these poor creatures receive their freedom. The enfranchised slaves follow at the funeral close behind the remains of their master or mistress, with long poles, on the top of which the certificate of their liberation is attached. When any of the Beys die, several hundreds of these unfortunate creatures are set at liberty.

The slave trade, I am informed, is at present* not carried on upon so large a scale as it was some

* See a treatise written by Albertus Bobovius on this subject.

years ago ; but this may be owing to the impoverished state of the Tunisians. I have often visited the slave-market, and found there from twenty to thirty slaves, mostly women. The slaves, like all other articles offered for sale, are sold by brokers or auctioneers, and are given over to the highest bidder. Any person that is inclined to buy, examines these poor creatures as he would in buying a horse ; they are made to show their tongue, teeth, arms, and feet. The market is a place of about 35 feet by 25, in the midst of which there is a platform about $2\frac{1}{2}$ elevated from the ground, which is surrounded by a wooden railing not unlike a sheep-pew. On one side of this platform, upon a carpet, sit the notaries and sellers, and on the other the slaves that are not yet at auction. Those immediately for sale, are led about the platform by the auctioneer, till the last prize (about L.10) is offered. Christians and Jews are, by law, prohibited from buying slaves. In Tunis, slaves are, generally speaking, not ill-treated ; and whenever they are, they have the right of demanding from their master to be resold : this they can do as often as they please.

A great deal has of late been said and heard of the "abolition of slavery" in this regency. The Malta papers were full of the subject. There was also a dispute as to who should have the credit of having been the instrument of inducing the Bey to

* I beg to remind my reader that I speak of 1841. Since that time a change has taken place with regard to the slave-trade, as will soon be seen.

take so noble a step. This the reader will be able to see, from a letter dated Tunis, February the 20th, 1843, and signed "Justitia," which appeared in a Malta paper. The writer of the letter says:—

"If men were as ready to undertake noble deeds, as they are prompted to claim a share in them after they are performed, then indeed mankind would be happy, in proportion with the emulation which would ensue from such a generous contest. But, unfortunately for our species, that line is generally followed which is the easier; and, instead of doing, we satisfy our self-love as well as we can, by only pretending to claim a part, which justice is far from sanctioning.

"However much it may appear to your readers, as well as to every body else in this regency, that Sir Thomas Reade was the propounder of the measures taken by his Highness the Bey of Tunis in favour of men of colour, a letter lately inserted in the *Journal des Débats* clearly shows, that instead of rendering justice to the British agent and consul-general for the final measures lately taken in this respect, they are attributed to mere chance, produced by claims put forth by the French consul-general in favour of a negro family, for whom he had taken interest.

"Your journal has, throughout the whole course of this question, been the faithful reporter of every step taken in it: and a simple reference to it might consequently be the best answer to this pretension.

"You know, Mr Editor, that it is not new; that the transactions of the Anti-Slavery Society at

Paris had, on a former occasion, hinted at the French consul as having had a part in the steps first taken by the Bey; and that this was fully contradicted by your Gazette.

“How, therefore, the correspondent of the *Journal des Débats* may have now put it forth again, we are far from pretending to explain; but this, however, we can positively assert, *it is unfounded*.

“That a negro family has taken refuge in the French consulate, and that the Bey has liberated them at the request of the French consul: this is so much an every-day occurrence, that there is scarcely one single consul at Tunis who could not claim equal merit. But that chance, or the French, or any other consul, may have kindled the Bey’s sympathy for adopting the former or the final measures his Highness has taken, is as far from truth as we know it to be unfounded.

“This is an honour entirely due to the British agent and consul-general,” &c.

I fully agree with “*Justitia*” that the abolition of slavery in Tunis (such as it is) is an honour *entirely* due to Sir Thomas Reade. That the reader may see this clearer, I shall here transcribe what I have published on a former occasion.

H.B.M. consul-general, Sir Thomas Reade, who is always ready to promote the cause of humanity, has for some time past watched the moment when he might be enabled to do something for the poor slave race in this regency; and it gives me now great pleasure to state, to the friends of humanity, that this most happy moment has arrived. The

being who hitherto has, most cruelly, been a degraded slave, is now by the local authority set at his liberty, and that abominable traffic of human beings is now on the point of being abolished. The details of this most humane action are as follows :—

A few days ago, a poor slave came to Sir Thomas Reade, begging to be protected from the cruelties of his master ; which Sir Thomas most promptly afforded, and at the same time thought this to be the very moment when something might be done for the poor negro race. Accordingly, the following morning he went to Bardo, the Bey's residence, where a long parley took place between him and H.H. the Bey, in which Sir Thomas Reade so successfully advocated the abolition of slavery, *that the Bey at once consented to give liberty to all his own slaves, to put a stop to the importation and exportation of them, and to get all his subjects in his regency to follow his example.* This, may it be remarked, is no trifle ; as the property possessed in slaves is great, and consequently the abolition of slavery will be felt very severely by many. *Let Christian nations read this, be astonished, and wonder at the noble actions of a Moslem prince.*

If the Bey of Tunis carries out his noble and philanthropic intention, he will immortalize his name in the annals of African freedom and civilization—united with that of the British consul-general.

This has been published as early as 1841. Things are done in these countries with very slow progress : hence, it took three years before something was

done, and I doubt not but it will take three years more before slavery will entirely be abolished.

In mentioning the slave-trade of Tunis, I cannot refrain from remarking the harsh step that has been taken with Cav. Gaspari, the late British vice-consul. This gentleman has been *falsely* accused of having permitted to embark slaves at the Goletta in a Greek vessel, for which he has actually lost his situation! The character of Mr Gaspari will, however, not suffer in the least; as his honesty, integrity, and humanity, are but too well known to those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Jews.—Probable time of their first settling in Barbary.
—Their state.—The Roman Catholics.—Greeks.—Protestants.—Protestant mission.—Death of Mr London.

THE native Jewish population, it is believed, amounts to nearly thirty thousand. The precise time when they first came to settle in Barbary is uncertain. Those of Jerba boast of inhabiting that island before the coming of Christ. It is not at all improbable that Jews have inhabited this part of Africa in the time of the Phœnicians. They must afterwards have been greatly augmented from Egypt, where we find in the year 38 upwards of a million. In Cyrene* they were in very great numbers. Augustus Cæsar granted them full citizenship. If it be true that, in their revolt in that country in 115, no less than 220,000 Greeks perished, then their number must have been very

* Amongst the strangers recorded in Acts ii., we find Jews from "Libya about Cyrene." "About Cyrene" certainly refers to the present Barbary States. Many of the strangers from these parts were, I have no doubt, of those who were "added to the church," and that "should be saved." The miraculous outpouring of the Holy Spirit having touched their hearts, they returned to their country, praising God, and very likely laid the foundation to the African church, which we find at one time in such a flourishing state.

great. Abdallah and Okba, it would appear, have also brought many from the East ; and we find, in the beginning of the eleventh century, their school at Kairwan in a very flourishing state. The names of Isaak Ben Suleiman Israelite, Hushiel, Hananel, and Nissim Ben Jacob Ben Zahun, men of the greatest learning, reflect honour upon it. They had also schools of learning at Mehediah, and in other places of Afrekiah. Their number was afterwards greatly increased from Spain, on account of the heavy persecutions which befell them in that country. " Although, since their settlement," (in Barbary,) says Dr Jost, in his History of the Jews, " they were to a certain extent oppressed in point of law, still they continued during a succession of centuries the most civilized community, and, therefore, in possession of the most important branches of industry." They occupied themselves with the cultivation of the vine, fishing, and weaving. They were gold and silver smiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c. But it could not be expected that a nation possessed of a love for learning as the Jewish nation is, would rest satisfied with heaping up riches only ; they well knew that " he who has wisdom need not be born to kingdoms, to riches, or to fame ; he knows how to acquire them, and is independent of all, having all within himself." Hence, you find amongst their learned, not only rabbies, but also linguists, historians, mathematicians, and astronomers.

The barbarities practised upon them at different times by the Mohammedans were very great ; but

yet, it must be confessed, they never suffered so much from them as they did from those professing to be followers* of the meek and lowly Jesus. The Jew has often been forced to embrace Mohammedanism in order to save himself from a cruel death under the bastinado : and woe unto that person who, after having done so, dares to recant ; nothing but his head would atone for it. Their property has often been taken from them, and if they attempted to resist, their lives were taken also. Their children have been forced from them, and made Mohammedans. What a remarkable fulfilment of the words of Moses : “ Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long.”—Deut. xxviii. 32. They are now, it is true, treated better ; however, it is not uncommon to see these poor sons of Abraham ill treated by the sons of Ishmael. On one occasion I saw a Jew boy insulted in the street ; and on my interfering, a respectable-looking Mohammedan told me, “ Why do you take the part of these dogs ? they neither believe in Jesus nor in Mohammed, and will therefore go to hell : what does it matter whether you beat them ? ”

My friend, the Rev. Mr Ewald, in his Journal † for 1834, says : “ In walking home I saw a heart-

* “ The account of the Jews who have been plundered, sent naked into banishment, starved, tortured, left to perish in prison, hanged, and burnt, by Christians, would fill many volumes.”—Jortin’s Remarks, vol. ii. p. 420.

† Jewish Intelligencer.

breaking scene. A venerable silver-bearded Jew fell down in the street ; a Moor who was sitting near the spot, instead of helping him, gave him such a blow on his head that his turban and cap fell off. The Jew, without saying a single word, stood up, took his cap and turban, and went into a corner to arrange it again. The Moors laughed at him. I said to some of them, ‘ This is a bad man who has struck the Jew.’ They said, ‘ Why, this is nothing : there is no harm in that ! ’ ” It is not many years since they said the same of Christians, and they would do it even now, were they not so humbled in the taking of Algiers, Bona, and Constantiniana by the French.

The Jews live in a separate quarter, called *Hara* ; they have a *Kaid*, or governor, who receives his appointment from the Bey. This Kaid adjusts amongst them affairs of minor importance, and whenever the Bey requires any funds to be raised amongst the Jews, he applies to the Kaid, who is then obliged in the best manner he can to furnish the required sum. They are changed, like all other offices in the country, according to the caprice of the Bey.

In European countries, Jews are often ready to say that they are not in captivity ; but the Jews that say or think so, I beg to cast an eye upon their brethren here.

One morning in visiting that part of the Jewish quarter where the silversmiths live, I saw a *hamba* (a police officer) compelling many Jews to leave their work-shops, and to come with him ; and upon

asking one of the Jews the reason, he said to me, "He (the *hamba*) compels us to leave our work, and to go to Bardo, (the Bey's residence,) there to work *Balik*,* which we being in captivity are obliged to do." I could with difficulty overcome my feelings at hearing these words, and much less when he added, "and when the Bey wants us on the Sabbath, we are even obliged to break that holy day." Yes, the Sabbath which the Jew could not be forced to profane, even when the sabre was laid upon his neck, centuries of persecutions have taught him to do! The only reason which I received was, "*We are in captivity!*"

But why should we wonder that the children of the free woman are hated by those of the bond-woman, when we find them ill-treated by those professing to be the disciples of Christ? Why should we feel astonished that the Jews are persecuted in Mohammedan countries when they are despised in Christian lands? The Jews have brought blessings upon all nations amongst whom they dwelt, but upon none so many as upon Christian nations. They have many claims upon those professing to be the followers of Jesus: they are the seed of Abraham, God's friend; the children of the Prophets; and above all, the brethren of Christ according to the flesh. "Salvation is of the Jews."

How many are there, in our days, professing to

* Work which is done for the Bey, and which is always, or nearly so, without remuneration, is called *Balik*.

be Christians, and who think they do God a service in injuring a poor harmless Jew!* Look to Russia,

* A well-written pamphlet has lately made its appearance, which, though upon the whole contrary to my own views, yet, I must confess, contains some very prominent truths. There are many by whom the style and the bold figures adopted by Mr Hoga will not be so easily digested. This, however, does not diminish the merit of the author, who, though mistaken, shows himself to be possessed of no ordinary mind. To Mr Hoga himself, and to all those who are in favour of his views, I would humbly venture to recommend the perusal of the Rev. Mr Margoliouth's able reply to Charlotte Elizabeth's letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem; as also his "Modern Judaism Investigated;" and, above all, Dr M'Caul's justly-famed work, the "Old Paths." The passage I mean to quote from Mr Hoga's pamphlet is introduced by supposing Christ to revisit this world, as he did eighteen hundred years ago, being a *Jew*. "Whither," says the learned author, "O my Lord! wouldest thou go to pass a few days in peace? If thou wouldest go to Rome, there not only thy holy eyes would be disgusted with their servile worship of thy saints, but they would even forbid a Christian to have a friendly conversation with thee. They would accuse thee of using Christian blood to thy religious ceremonies of unleavened bread, which thou never didst but once, and that was thy own dear blood, which thou hadst shed for sinful men. They would put thee in prison. . . . If thou wouldest go to Russia, there thou mightest indeed be surprised to see so many candles burning to every one of thy whole family and saints; but thyself they would take, as a soldier, to give thee again vinegar and lashes; and how might thy holy ears be shocked with their usual unhallowed expression of ——! If thou wouldest turn thy holy face towards Austria, there thou mightest wait a long while before thou couldest have the pleasure of gladdening by thy presence, as once in Cana of Galilee, the heart of a Jewish bride and bridegroom in their wedding; besides, thou wouldest be obliged to let thy Apostle Peter catch all the fishes of the sea with silver coins in the gullet of each fish, in order to pay

Austria, France, and even Prussia, and see how often they are ill-treated there. In French-Africa they are worse off than in Morocco. In ship-loads do they leave Algiers, the land of their birth, to go to Palestine; not so much out of attachment to the Holy Land, (which is so prevalent in the heart of every Jew,) as to rid themselves of the French yoke, which is more intolerable than that of the Mohammedans. But why should we look to the French and the other nations? Let us come to Protestant England; and nearer still, let us come to some of those who for years have, and still do, profess themselves as "*Friends of Israel*," and ask them *conscientiously*, whether their *actions* correspond with their *profession*? And if their conscience is not "seared with a hot iron," we shall find the very reverse. It is to be deplored that persons professing to be friends to the Jews, and who get their living by that profession, should act the part of Haman, and try in every respect to trample upon poor Mordecai. How true is it, that "nothing more emboldens the wicked than the belief that they may persist with impunity!"*

for thyself and thy poor people Israel, all the taxes and extortions for Sabbaths' candles. Yea, even if thou mightest go to the Christian land, Prussia, there too they would as yet *rudely* ask thee for a passport."—*The Controversy of Zion*, pp. 9, 10. The truth of this is so palpable, and is so in accordance with what has been advanced above, that it would be more than useless to add anything to it.

* One of the greatest Reformers remarked, wherever Christ builds a church, there the devil is sure to build a chapel. This is certainly true, and is particularly manifested

But are all these and greater troubles which befell, and still do befall, the Jews, the effects of mere chance? Or are they in fulfilment of the words of the prophet: "I will persecute them with the sword, with the famine, and with the pestilence, and will deliver them to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth; to be a curse, and an astonishment, and a hissing, and a reproach among all the nations whither I have driven them: because they have not hearkened to my words, saith the Lord, which I sent unto them by my servants the prophets, rising up early and sending; but ye would not hear, saith the Lord"?* Surely God's word is yea and amen; and all that happened to Israel, from the time of the remarkable catastrophe which accompanied the destruction of their city

in every institution which has the promotion of the Saviour's kingdom for its object. The devil is sure to have some of his agents wherever a body of Christ's people are collected, in order to deliberate upon the best plans for enlarging God's dominion. I beg, however, here distinctly to be understood as not making allusion to any individual society, and least of all, to the "London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews,"—an institution which, in my humble opinion, deserves more the support of a Christian public than any other in existence. My remarks above have particular reference to two *gentlemen*, one in London, and the other several thousand miles distant from that city. They are sure to appropriate them to themselves. I shall be most happy to hear that they have altered their conduct, and so for ever remain quiet on a subject which grieves me very much. Should this, however, not be the case, and they continue to act in the *shameful* manner they have hitherto done, then I shall think it my duty to embrace another opportunity *fully* to expose them.

* Jer. xxix. 18, 19.

and temple to the present day, was, "because they did not hearken unto the voice of the Lord their God." Hence it comes, as Bishop Newton justly remarks, that "Mohammedans, Heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews."* How truly, also, does the poet sing concerning Israel :—

"Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest?
The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country, Israel but the grave."†

God suffers all calamities to come upon them on account of their sins, and chiefly *because they crucified the Redeemer of the world*. However, the Lord will judge the nations who afflicted his people, for they are still to Him as the *apple* of his eye. "They are beloved for the fathers' sake." The Lord has been faithful to his threatenings, and will assuredly be so to his promises of mercy and pardon. The spirit of grace and supplication shall be poured out upon them, when they will look upon him whom they have pierced, and "shall mourn

* Dissertation vii. 16.

† Byron. I embrace here the opportunity of recommending to those who have learned to pray for, and feel an interest in, Israel, "Four Hebrew Melodies, as sung in the Jewish Synagogues, with a Vocal Introduction, by Edward H. Leveaux; the whole arranged for the Pianoforte by John Hopkinson, and dedicated to the Rev. H. S. Joseph, Chester, by the Compiler, E. H. Leveaux." The poetry is by Lord Byron. Published by J. & J. Hopkinson, Leeds, and may be had by all respectable Music-sellers. Price 2s. 6d.

for him as one mourneth for his only son.”* For “thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one King shall be King to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all. Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions; but I will save them out of all their dwelling-places wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them: so shall they be my people, and I will be their God. And David, my servant, shall be king over them; and they all shall have one Shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes, and do them. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob, my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt: and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, for ever: and my servant David shall be their prince for ever. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them: and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle, also, shall be with them: yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And the heathen shall know that I the Lord do sanctify

* Zech. xii. 10.

Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore.”*

The time is drawing nigh when the affairs of God's ancient people will take a change. The Lord himself will lift up a standard in their behalf, and will take vengeance upon all those who have eaten them “as bread,” and the whole world shall see that the declaration, “Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee,” which has been made respecting Israel, was not in vain. But to return.

The Jews of Tunis are distinguished in their dress from Mohammedans, by not being permitted to wear the red *scull*-cap, nor coloured shoes; their cap and turban must always be black, or dark blue, and their shoes black. The Jewish women dress much like the Mohammedan, except that they do not cover their whole face in the manner the Mohammedan women do. They only hide their mouth. They are, generally speaking, very handsome, and are as much neglected in their education as their Mohammedan neighbours. Polygamy is lawful amongst the Tunisian Jews, but I only know of one instance where a Jew has three wives; there are some who have two, but in general they have only one wife.

The Jews here are either so much versed in the Talmud, that their minds thus corrupted are not able to stand five minutes sound reasoning, or they are entirely ignorant; they have, however, a very

* Ezek. xxxvii. from 21 to the end of the chapter.

clever Rabbi, called Shua Bisis, who is looked upon by them as a kind of demigod. Their schools are upon a very poor footing; they are prohibited, as I have already remarked, to learn Arabic, so that their education is entirely confined to Hebrew, and that talmudical. Till the arrival of M. Ewald the missionary, very few entire Bibles were known to exist amongst them; now you find the Society's Hebrew Bibles almost in every school. They have many Synagogues, and all their books are in Hebrew, though they speak Arabic. The greatest part of the native Jews are poor. The European Jews, mostly Italians, amounting to about 2000, have their own Synagogues; their intercourse with their native brethren is not very great, perhaps owing to the inferiority of education and morals of the latter.

The Roman Catholic population is calculated to amount to above 8000. They have a convent and a church, and about ten friars, all under the superintendence of the *Padre Prefetto*, who, with the friars, being Maltese, are under English protection, whilst the chapel is under the French. There is also a chapel in the Sardinian and French Consulates, in which, however, very seldom service is held. The French have lately erected on the ruins of Carthage a monument in commemoration of the death of Louis the Ninth, generally called Saint Louis, to which also a chapel is attached.

The Greeks, amounting to several hundreds, and generally Ionians, have also a chapel of their own, and a most venerable old man who officiates as priest.

Our Protestant population during my stay in Tunis was always small. Our service was held in the Mission-house of the "*London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews*," and the Rev. Mr Ewald, Missionary of this Society, officiated as our minister.

In mentioning our Protestant congregation, and our Protestant missionary-minister, it may not be amiss if I say something of our missionary work. Our object in Tunis was to promote that knowledge which is able to make man wise unto salvation, to those from whom the Christian Church first received it—to the Jews. I have already said, that till the Rev. Mr Ewald's arrival in Tunis, very few entire copies of the Scriptures were known to exist amongst the Jews; and even now, few others but those of the Society are in use amongst them. Many thousand copies of the Word of God have been circulated amongst the sons of Abraham, and that *not gratis*, but for *money*. It must be gratifying to the friends of the Jewish cause when they hear, that in 1840 I have taken no less than L.160 for Holy Scriptures! This is no small sum when the poverty of the Jews is taken into consideration. Can it be true, then, I ask, (as our enemies wish to make the world believe,) that the Jews made *bad use* of our Bibles? Where is the Jew, I should like to know, who would give out his money for a bad use? No, my friends, the Bibles have been *bought*, and *good use* has been made of them, and in many instances the fruits have been seen.

The mission in Tunis suffered a severe loss in the sudden death of Mr H. London, late lecturer at the University of Breslau,—a man who was in every respect qualified for the work. He combined learning and genuine Christianity to such a degree, that he was greatly beloved and respected by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Mr London was in the forty-third year of his age, and had just commenced his missionary career, when it pleased God, in his divine and mysterious Providence, to call him hence. He departed this life, in quietness and peace, on the morning of the 28th of December 1840, and has left a widow to bemoan his loss. But,

“Who shall weep when the righteous die?
Who mourn when the good depart?
When the soul of the godly away shall fly,
Who shall lay the loss to heart?”

“He has gone into peace; he has laid him down
To sleep till the dawn of a brighter day;
And he shall awake on that holy morn,
When sorrow and sighing shall flee away.”*

It would, I am sure, be very interesting to the Christian world, if the life of this worthy man were published: I sincerely trust it will be.

The “London Society” has, for reasons unknown to me, given up Tunis, which I consider as one of the most important missionary stations. The 30,000 Jews

* Brainard.

inhabiting this city are at present left without the means of finding Him who is the Saviour of Israel. Let us hope that some Protestant Church will ere long fill this vacancy with faithful and zealous labourers.

CHAPTER XV.

The present Bey.—Circular informing the Consuls of a successor to the throne.—His military passion.—Regular troops.—A letter to illustrate their conduct.—The oppression of the Tunisians.—The Bey's expedition to the mountains.—Circular informing the Consuls of the same.—The Bey's good qualities.—Europeans in his service.—Library.—Sir Thomas Reade's collection of Arabic manuscripts.—Punishment for theft.—A very remarkable instance of a propensity to stealing.—Theft sometimes an hereditary moral depravity.—Punishment for other offences.—Climate.—Dr Heap's opinion.—Soil.—Vegetables.—Animals.—Mines.—Exports and imports.—Manufactures.—Extent of the Regency, and its principal towns.

AHMED BASHA, the present Bey, succeeded, as we have seen, his uncle Mustafa to the throne of Tunis on the 10th of October 1837. After the customary ceremonies of installation, the Bey issued the usual circular to the representatives of the Christian powers, with instructions to forward the same to their respective governments. I was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of the circular that was issued by the predecessor of the present Bey. The following is a copy of it:—

“Glory to princes of the religion of Messiah. To the chosen by the great of the nation of Jesus, our most honoured, most longed for, most magnificent, and most powerful friend, the present King

of ———, we make known, friendly, the following to your Majesty :

“ On Wednesday, the 23d of the month of Moharrim, the sacred of the present year 1251, at the moment when the sun brighted the horizon, the hour marked by destiny having struck for my most honoured brother Hussein Basha, he emigrated towards the mansion of eternity. According to an ancient and immemorable custom, the Divan was assembled to resign into my hands the reins of the government of this regency of Tunis, the well-guarded—a government which belongs to us by virtue of the right of succession, established by our ancestors. All the principal members of this respectable body, and the chief inhabitants of the country, assembled at the palace of Bardo, and there proclaimed me, and put me on the throne. This letter was written and dispatched to your Majesty, animated, as we are, by the desire to continue on the same terms of friendship and harmony which exists, for so long a time, between the government of ——— and this regency. We desire to observe and follow out the treaty which so happily unites the two countries, and to inform ourselves of your royal health. By the grace of the Most High God, when this reaches you, our friendship encourages us to hope, that, for the future, your Majesty will not banish us from your remembrance.

“ Written on the 23d of Moharrim of the year 1251.” (Signed by the Bey.)

Similar to this circular was that of Ahmed Basha, when he ascended the throne of Tunis.

His former life contains nothing worthy of particular notice. In the beginning of his reign, however, he committed certain actions, which led all his subjects to expect in him a prince that was anxious to reward justice and punish vice, and to do all in his power to promote the happiness of his people. His subsequent conduct has partly been different from this.

His great passion for a military life, and martial glory, makes Ahmed Basha overlook those parts in his kingdom which are the most vital to the promotion of his own welfare, and that of his subjects. The regular troops, which are a scourge to the people, and which were established by his uncle Hussein, then amounting to 10,000, were by him augmented to double that number;* and as these troops are badly paid, they rob and steal: sometimes it really was dangerous to be in the street as soon as it got dark. Whenever complaints were brought to the Bey, he almost always decided in favour of the soldiers. The manner in which they are instructed and kept, though his Highness had ever so many thousands of them, they would not be sufficient to resist the smallest European power, whilst one thousand, properly disciplined, would be quite enough to keep the country in order, and the Arabs in awe.

I insert the following letter, partly to illustrate the conduct of the soldiers, and partly to show how strict Mohammedans are in obeying their Prophet's

* The Bey has also several vessels of war, and a fine steamer, which he bought from France for an enormous sum of money.

injunction, that females should not be seen by any man but by their own husbands and the nearest relatives, which cuts off all intercourse between families; and partly as a specimen of an Arabic letter:—

“Praise to God! To our beloved, the generous, the well-conducted, the learned, our brother N., to whom may God be gracious and merciful! Amen.

“Hence the object of our writing to you is to give you some news from Tunis during your absence, which news is of a nature not so easily to be overlooked. Before your departure, you heard of the many robberies that were committed, especially by soldiers; now these robberies are greatly increasing, so that one hardly knows how to protect his property. A few days ago, a man, dressed in woman’s clothes, applied to the slave of a Mohammedan for charity. She went to inform her mistress of it, (the master being out of town,) and the lady kindly called the *woman* in, intending to give her some food, when all at once the slave made the discovery that it was a man dressed in women’s clothes. ‘Cover your face, lady! cover your face! it is a man!’ cried the black, and her mistress instantly ran into an adjoining apartment, the door of which she locked. But the villain no sooner saw himself discovered, than he ran to the house door, and locked it also. Then throwing off his mask, and with a voice becoming his profession, he ordered the lady to open the room, but finding her refusing, he threatened to kill her slave, which he actually did, when he found her determined in her

refusal. The wretch next threatened to kill her infant, which had been left with the slave, thinking to induce her to open the apartment in which he thought she had her treasures; and upon finding her not obeying, he killed the poor helpless and innocent child! He now determined to break open the door, in which he no sooner succeeded, than the lady, who by chance had found an old sword, ran furiously upon him, and with one blow laid the murderer dead at her feet. Thus she was delivered, though with the loss of her infant and slave, from the cruel hands of the assassin, who proved to be a soldier. I have no doubt but that many of these evils originate from real want, as you know the miserable state of the country. This is all I have for the present to acquaint you with, I shall therefore add no more, but wish you peace and happiness. From your friend," &c.

I am aware that the character of this lady is not to be commended in this affair, but Mohammedans will, after all, applaud her for her piety. Many cases of a similar nature have happened; and I have no doubt, as my friend says, these evils originate from real want; but how is it, some might ask, that a country so fertile and so rich should be in so miserable and wretched a state? It is true that this country has been visited with several successive failing years, and that the curse of God has, in this respect, rested upon this land! But how is it, that though the crops of last years were not so very bad, yet there should have been as great a want of provisions last winter? The answer is this:

The Arabs, naturally lazy, are not only not encouraged in agriculture, but are really discouraged. They are afraid to sow ; because they know that they will lose all in the *tithes, taxes, and monopolies*. An Arab told me he had sown last year two Kafees of barley, and when the tax-gatherers came, they took all he had sown, and made him yet buy half a Kafees to make up the want of the tithes ! “Next year,” said the Arab to me, “I shall sow no more ; for why should I lose my health in labour that brings no profit, and my money in the bargain ?” Many, I have no doubt, followed his example. Thus it is clear, that if the Bey would only *encourage* agriculture, this country would be one of the finest countries in the world ; nature has done more for it than for any part of Europe ; but instead of this, he spends his time and money with his soldiers, who are like scorpions in the hands of the Bey, with which he chastises his people.

Though the pay of these troops is but trifling, yet, upon the whole, it requires a great deal to maintain them ; to do this, the Bey was constrained to add considerably to the many monopolies and taxes which had already been established by the former Beys. One of these monopolies (on tobacco) caused a revolution amongst the inhabitants of the mountains of Kabes. This was just the thing for Ahmed Basha to show off his military talents. Preparations were immediately made ; and an expedition of 20,000 men, and 10,000 horses, mules, and camels, were in a short time at the command of his Highness. Some doubted his going to Kabes,

and assigned the hot season* as their reason, and asserted that he was going to assist Abd-El-Kader against the French ; some believed he was going to take possession of Tripoli ; whilst by others it was maintained that he had the intention of settling himself at Tugurt, to be out of the reach of the European powers, of whom he is in continual apprehension at Tunis. These conjectures were partly confirmed when the Bey, just before his departure, sent the following circulars to the various foreign consuls, of which this is a translation :—

“ Praise to God ! From the servant of God, to whom be praise, from whom he expects pardon, and to whom he resigns all his affairs, Ahmed Basha Bey, prince of the Tunisian government, whom may God direct, make willing, and assist in that with which he has invested him : Amen. To our ally, (N.,) consul-general of ———, &c., in Tunis :—Hence the object of our writing to you, is to let you know that we have put our confidence in God, and are setting out on Thursday, the 4th of the present month, *to visit our kingdom*, and have left in our stead, our dearest, the only, the heroic, the happy, our brother, my Lord Mohammed Bey, with executive power in all affairs. With him we have left, as assistant, the exemplary, the well-conducted, our minister, our son, Lord Mustafah, the ‘keeper of the seal.’ May God ordain happiness to us all : Amen. Written on the 2d of the month Rabiah—the second, in the year 1256.”

* The Expedition departed on the 4th of July, and was absent during the three hottest months of the year.

The Bey, however, went to Kabes, where he subdued the rebellious people, and returned to Tunis, loaded with their spoil, and with many prisoners. His Highness in this action wished to show his subjects that no season of the year should prevent him from visiting the extremities of his kingdom, and to carry the sword amongst those who make themselves the objects of his vengeance.

But I should be wronging the Bey, if I were only to mention his defects, without noticing his good qualities.

Ahmed Basha, like everybody else, has his faults, which certainly very often have the predominancy over his good qualities ; but that he has good qualities cannot be denied. The Europeans never enjoyed such safety under any former Bey as they do under Ahmed : the Tunisians, indeed, have a respect for them. I have often been told by Mohammedans, "*You Europeans are the lords of our country.*"

There are many Europeans in the service of the Bey. Amongst these, Cav. Raffo and Mr Bogo are the foremost: the former, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a very clever man, and not altogether unknown in Europe ; and the latter is Master of the Household. If the Bey would always take the advice of Cav. Raffo, he would often act differently from what he does. Col. Szczepanowski and Professor Metzger deserve particularly to be noticed : the former, a brave Polish officer, instructs the Bey's cavalry ; and the latter, a German musician, his band.

Shortly after the Bey received the title of *Musheer*

(Basha of three tails) from his Highness the Sultan, which took place a few months ago, he established a public library, containing several thousand manuscripts,* some of which are very rare and valuable. The public (Mohammedan of course) have access to it *gratis*; there is, however, a certificate, or recommendation, required from every visitor, which can be obtained by a priest only. The students, also, are not only boarded upon the public funds, but the Bey allows them a trifle of pocket-money.

* Sir Thomas Reade, the British Consul-general, I think, has the best collection of Arabic manuscripts that ever a Christian made here, since this country is under Mohammedan government. A catalogue of this collection is found in a book on Africa, in which there are but *few facts* to be discovered besides it. They are sixty different works, amongst which the following are the most prominent:—1. A work on riding, and the art of war. 2. On the goodness of this and the other life. 3. A book on medicine, (a few pages wanting.) 4. Two Commentaries on the Koran. 5. A history of the prophet, in three parts. 6. Miracles of the Saints. 7. Novels of Seif Elwagil. 8. A Treatise on the Saints. 9. On the difficulties of the Koran. 10. History of Joseph the son of Jacob. 11. The art of fortune-telling. 12. History of Africa since the time of the Romans in Carthage. 13. The art of examining things. 14. Hagj Hamuda Ben Abdelagiaz's History of the Reign of Ali Bey. 15. A Treatise on Politeness. 16. The principles of all the sciences. 17. On Chemistry. 18. A Commentary on the honour of the Prophet. 19. Natural history. 20. Four parts of a History of the World. 21. Hagj Hammed's, &c., &c., History of Tunis. 22. Abu Haldun's Histories, (incomplete.) 23. A History of Egypt. 24. Sixteen parts of a Universal History. 25. Thirteen parts of the Romance of Antar. And, 26. Parts of the Romances of Delhamma Ibn Hishan of Nadshi. The rest are on Poetry, Grammar, and Religion.

The Turkish influence in Tunis is merely nominal. Ahmed Basha is, *strictly* speaking, an absolute sovereign in his country; his word is a law, and that law must, under all circumstances, be put into execution. However, he has lately evinced a character, for which he has been applauded by his people. Four *Shahad Addalies* (or public notaries) forged some documents respecting mosque property, which had first to be legalized by the Bash Mufti, (arch-priest,) who, on examining the papers closely, discovered the plot. The priest brought the case before the Bey, who, after a strict examination, sentenced the delinquents to death. The Bash Mufti, on hearing this, interceded for the prisoners, and represented to the Bey the bad impression which the execution of these learned men would make on the public at large. The Bey reflected a few moments, and, when convinced of the truth of the Bash Mufti's representations, commuted the sentence of execution into transportation for life, with hard labour, to the island of Kerkny, to which place they were conveyed, where it was thought they would end their life in misery. But they had hardly been there a month, when the Bey sent for them, forgave them this first crime, but threatened them with certain death if they were to repeat this vile action again, which it is not likely they will.

His Highness, soon after his accession, built a fine palace at Bardo,* quite in the European style.

* Bardo, a fortified place a mile and a half West of Tunis. Actuated by superstition, none of the Beys like to live in the palace which their predecessors built; thus the

All the furniture, of the best kind, he had brought from France. His summer residence is at the Goletta, where he has also a fine furnished palace. All affairs, even of the least importance, are brought before him, whether to Bardo or the Goletta, where he patiently listens to all complaints, and, not unusually, decides with judgment and equity.

Mohammed, in his fifth chapter of the Koran, says, "If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands in retribution for that which they have committed." The law founded upon this passage is, that the criminal is to lose his right hand for the first offence; for the next, his left foot; for the third offence, he is to lose his left hand; and if he steals after that, he is to lose his right foot. I have been informed, by very good authority, that there was a case in Tunis where a man had such a propensity to stealing,* that, after having been de-

fine Gothic palace in Tunis stands uninhabited, whilst the present Bey spent several millions of francs in building and furnishing the new palace.

* I am very sorry not to have made particular inquiry respecting this man's parentage. An Essay, written by a very clever German physician, which deserves to be better known than it is, shows that theft often is an hereditary moral depravity. The learned author gives a most interesting example of a case, in which the parties connected with it were perfectly known to him. "When I was a boy," the Doctor says, "there lived in my native town an old man named P——, who was such an inveterate thief, that he went in the whole place by that name: people speaking of him, used no other appellation but that of 'the thief,' and everybody knew then who was meant; for epithets, generally speaking, are common occurrences in small towns. Children and common people were accustomed to call him

prived of all his limbs, he actually committed this vile practice again, and so subjected himself to the punishment of being "scourged according to the discretion of the judge."

I do not think the Bey is so scrupulous as always consult the Koran ; but in the case of theft, he certainly has done so several times. After sentence is passed, the poor wretch is dragged out from the Machkama (judgment-hall) by Hambas, (officers,) and a barber performs the operation. The hand is taken off at the wrist, and the foot at the ankle. The stump is then dipped in hot pitch ; after which, the delinquent is placed upon an ass with his face backward, and an officer goes before him, who arrests the attention of the people by proclaiming the nature of the offence. In this manner he is brought through the whole town.

A short time ago the Bey inflicted this punish-

by that name, even in his presence, as if they knew no other name belonging to him ; and he bore it, to a certain degree, with a sort of good-naturedness. It was even customary for tradesmen, and dealers who frequented the annual fairs in this place, to enter into a formal treaty with him ; that is, they gave him a trifling sum of money, for which he engaged not only not to touch their property himself, but even to guard it against other thieves." The author then relates that a son of this P—— died in a house of correction, and his grandson he knows to have been committed to a similar place ; and then adds : "Whether that institution was fortunate enough to correct this ill-fated youth, the writer of this Essay is unable to state."—*A Pathological and Philosophical Essay on Hereditary Diseases, &c.*, by Julius Henry Steinau, M.D., of the Royal Medical College, Berlin. Dedicated to Thomas Hudgkin, M.D. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., London.

ment for another offence ; I am not aware whether it is according to the Koran. A public notary, who had been transported to the island of Kerkney for forgery, committed the same there, for which he was brought to Tunis, and sentenced to receive two hundred bastinadoes, and to have his right hand amputated.

All sentences, whether capital or otherwise, are no sooner pronounced than they are executed. Arabs are generally hanged, seldom decapitated, but Turks have the *privilege** of being strangled ; Jews are punished after the example of the Arabs. Women are drowned, and the nobility poisoned. Soldiers are at present shot, which offends the Mohammedans very much, there not being any thing in the Koran to justify such a death. Murder is punished with death, but with restrictions. A Mohammedan, though a slave, is not to be put to death for an infidel, though a freeman. This is according to the Sonna ; but the Bey does not think himself obliged always to abide by its determination. The punishment the Bey has chiefly recourse to is the bastinado ; but this, I think, is the most cruel, as many die under it. As many as five hundred, a thousand, and even two thousand bastinadoes have been inflicted on one person ! I was only once present during the administration of this cruel punishment. The culprit was stretched upon his belly on the ground with his hands tied. Upon his head and legs were two officers sitting, so that the poor man could not move.

* Strange as it may appear, the Turks actually consider strangling a privilege.

His feet were fast in a piece of wood with two holes, and a cord passed through them, so that when the poor fellow did move, the cord was drawn so tight that it almost cut his flesh. Two officers were then appointed, who, with large sticks, applied the blows with all their force. I was only present a minute or two, and that was more than I could be persuaded to do again.

The climate of Tunis is one of the finest in the world; and my friend Dr Heap, the United States' Consul, who has been a resident there for many years, has pronounced it to be one of the most healthy.

The surrounding country is enchanting: the hills, covered with forests of olive and Carob trees, which keep their green coating the whole year round, are most cheering; and though, during the summer days, the thermometer is raging up to 90 and 100, yet the evenings are generally cool and pleasant.

It is a fine sight after a hot summer's day to see groups of ladies and gentlemen, on beautiful and spirited mountain horses, sally forth most cheerfully out of the city, and gradually disperse themselves in those beautiful forests, and there canter about till night constrains them to return to the society of their circle of friends. Even the Bey, who lately came in contact with one of these cavalades, could not help stopping his carriage, and admiring the horsemanship of one of the young consular ladies, and the beauty of her spirited and fiery black steed.

The soil of Tunis has been celebrated for centuries : it was once considered the granary of the world, and the most valuable province of the Roman empire. The ground is soft and yielding, and so rich and productive, that it requires only to be turned up with a stick in order to yield any species of crop without manure, care, or toil. The cultivable plains are of considerable extent ; notwithstanding the greater part of it is left uncultivated, except near the towns. The majority of the springs are saline, and the people chiefly depend upon the rain water. The sea salt, or chloride of sodium, is here, as in other parts of Barbary, spread over the soil in very great abundance.

The cypress, the olive, the orange tree, the myrtle, the lupine, the virgin's bower, the narcissus, are all to be found here. There is also an abundance of the different kinds of cistus, mignionette, sumac, broom, aloe, euphorbium, besides a great number of aromatic plants, such as the sage and lavender. Among the cultivated plants are hard wheat, barley, maize, tobacco, dates, olives, figs, oranges, almonds, vines, apricots, jujubs, melons, pumpkins, the white mulberry, and others. Wheat is sown in autumn, and gathered in April or May.

Tunis has an abundance of cattle, which, though very small, is considered very fine. There are here two kinds of horses, the small one from the mountains, and the large one from the plain ; both are very fine. Amongst the zoology of Tunis may also be reckoned the camel, the lion, the

leopard, the wild boar, the fox, the jackal, and many others.

Baron Bludowski, who is a very clever geologist, and who for the purpose of making geological researches lately visited this country, informed me that the mountains near Tunis abound in mines of silver, copper, and lead. From others I have also been informed that there is near Porto Farina a mine of quicksilver. With the exception of the lead mines, which are at present turned to account by a Frenchman,* they are all abandoned.

Owing to the reduced state of Tunis, the commerce with Europe is of very little importance. In the roads of Tunis, where, but a few years ago, it was common to see hundreds of ships lying, at present hardly twenty are to be seen. The exportation† used to be oil, wool, hides, and grain; but during these last years very little wool has been exported, less oil, no grain, and not so many hides as formerly. A respectable Tuscan merchant informed me that the regency of Tunis used to produce, in plentiful years, 1,000,000 *metals*, about 5,000,000 gallons English, of olive oil; 25,000

* Whenever money is to be made, Frenchmen always offer themselves, and the Bey gives them the preference. A cloth manufactory, which the Bey established at Tuburba, is under the direction of a Frenchman; the same is the case with a powder manufactory. All articles of furniture, arms, harness, &c., are brought from France.

† They used also to export slaves, elephants' teeth, gold dust, ostrich feathers, and other articles brought by the Katamians, who are desert merchants from the interior. But this traffic never was very great: now it is carried on to a small extent.

cantars of wool; 480,000 coffees, about 900,000 quarters English, of wheat, and the same quantity of barley; 12,000 coffees, or about 24,000 quarters English, of beans. Besides these, they export soap, wax, dates, coral, oil of roses, senna, and hides. For these they receive in return from Europe—chiefly Leghorn, Marseilles, and Genoa—sugar, coffee, druggets, linen, muslin, cloths, spices, tin, lead, iron, Spanish wool for scull-caps, silk, wine, spirits, arms, cutlery, boards, &c. The exportation of cattle, chiefly for Malta, has been carried on extensively; but the Bey was constrained to put a stop to it last winter, on account of an epidemy that carried off whole herds together.

The principal manufactures are woollen; the *red scull-cap*, which was formerly also a great article of exportation, has now, owing to the imitations made in Europe,* been greatly reduced; nevertheless,

* The Tunisian scull-cap is, however, greatly prized all over the East. They are, in every respect, superior to those made in Europe. Of this the Tunisians are very proud. In other articles of manufacture, I perfectly agree with Keppel, when he says:—"Mahometans are at all times ready to acknowledge our superiority in every thing connected with manufactures and arts. This concession, indeed, could not well be withheld, as most articles of a finer quality are imported from Europe into the East, and the greater portion of them from England. Nevertheless, it is surprising that a people so bigoted to their own superiority in most respects, have allowed us a pre-eminence even in this. They reconcile it, however, to their vanity, by observing that we, as infidels, have our enjoyments in this life, while theirs, as true believers, will be in a world to come. In short, that we

the Tunisian caps are still considered to be the best. Upwards of 15,000 persons are employed in manufacturing this article. The otto of roses made here is considered to be of the best kind.

At Jerba are the chief woollen manufactures; they are of a thin texture.

Tunis is about 450 miles in length from N. to S., by 150 in breadth, covering an area of 52,000 English square miles. On the north and east, it is bounded by the Mediterranean sea; on the west, by Algiers; on the south, by Blad Elgereed and the Sahra; and on the south-east, by Tripoli.

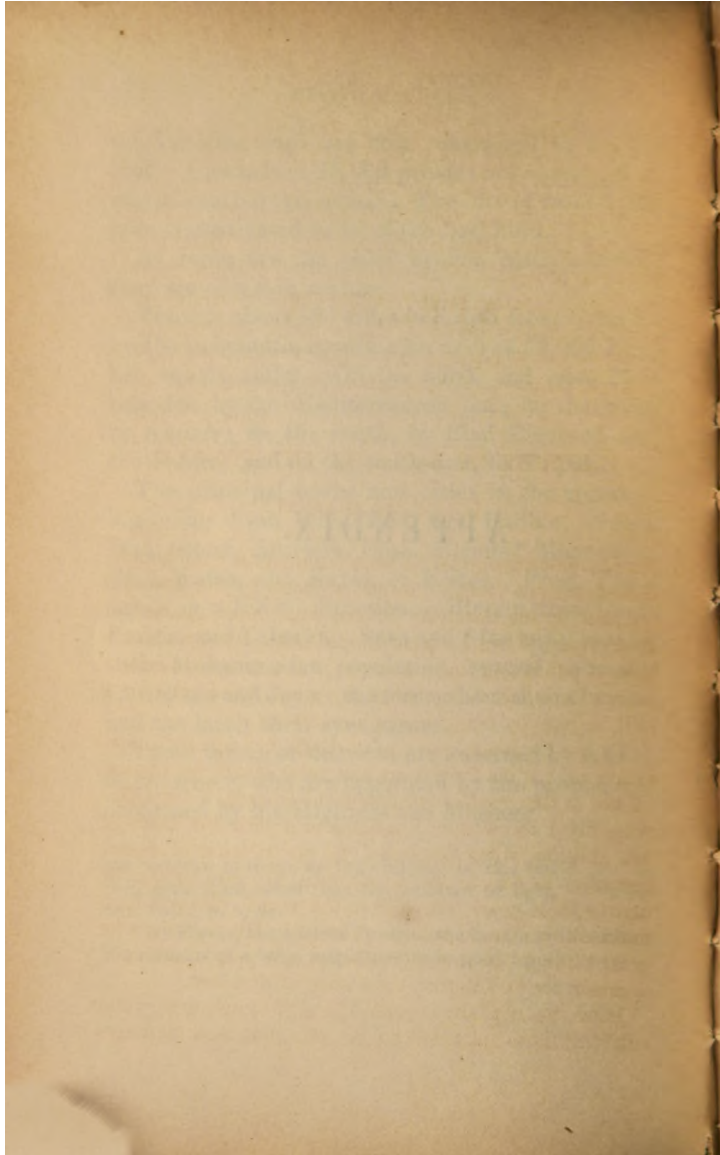
The principal towns and cities in the regency, beginning from Cape Bon, are Calibia, Nabil, Hammamet, Kairwan, Susa, Elgem,* Monasteer, Sfax, Kafza, and Kabis, or Kabes. From Tunis again, in a NNW. direction, is Bizerta, then Porto Farina, and Tabarka. Susa and Sfax have, besides their Mohammedan population, several thousand Christians and Jews; the former have their chapels, and the latter their synagogues.

These towns, or districts, are governed by Kaid, or governors, who are appointed by the people, and confirmed by his Highness the Musheer.

are superior to them, as the children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light."—Narrative, vol. i. p. 6, &c.

* At Elgem, the ancient Tysdrus, the antiquarian beholds the remains of a large amphitheatre in good preservation.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

CAPTURE OF BONA BY THE FRENCH.

(FROM THE ARABIC.)

AT the foot of page 145, I have a note from "An unpublished account of the Capture of Bona by the French," written by the Secretary of the chief Kadi (judge) of that city. When I extracted that note, I had no intention of publishing the "Account;" but various considerations have led me to change my mind, and I am sure it will be read by many with great interest.

To the Christian, the site of Bona is endeared, inasmuch as not far from it are the ruins of Hippo, the see of one of the greatest fathers of the Church. Augustin, who filled the whole Christian world with the fame of his abilities, when converted to the religion of Jesus, returned to Africa, and lived upon his own estate for nearly three years retired from the world. He was then induced by some friends to proceed to Hippo, where he was, through the urgent desires of the people, ordained a presbyter to Valerius, the bishop of that city.

Here, he not only occupied himself in instructing and edifying those entrusted to his care, but took an active

part in opposing various heresies which then harassed the African Church. Valerius, anxious to preserve the purity of his Church, took care to get Augustin elected Bishop of Hippo, in conjunction with himself. After the decease of the former, Augustin continued to discharge his duties with very great zeal. Possidonius says of him: "In his writings the holy man appears; but those who could have heard and seen him speak in public, and particularly in private conversation, would have seen still more." He died at Hippo,* whilst that city was besieged by the Vandals, in the year 430.

Bona is called by the Arabs, Annaba. Before the French took possession of it, the city contained about four thousand inhabitants. During the reign of Louis XIV. they carried on an extensive trade with France. Not far from the city, there are coral banks, which give employment, not only to a great portion of the native fishermen, but also to many French and Italians.

The manuscript of the account of the capture of Bona was given to me, at Malta, by James Richardson, Esq., late editor of the "Malta Times." He says of the author,—"If a political offender is to be valued according to the price put upon his head, I may value our narrator at something considerable, as the Bey offered a good sum for him when he finally escaped."

With very few immaterial alterations, I left the secretary's account as I received it. He himself calls it—"The news (or history) of Bona, and what happened in it, and to its people formerly," and proceeds as follows:—

When the French had taken the country of Algiers,

* See the Religious Tract Society's "History of the Church of Christ before the Reformation," vol. ii. p. 330. The reader will find, from a note in another part of this work, that the Bishop of Hippo died near Morocco. The argument there advanced is, to my own mind, quite conclusive; however, Hippo is the place generally assigned by church historians.

and made themselves masters of it, it happened on a certain day, that they sent to the people of Bona a letter, in which it was mentioned,—“I have taken Algiers, and entered it with peace; I have not done damage to any one of its people: now, I desire that you surrender to me the city of Bona, and I will come to it with peace also, like I have done to Algiers. Fear nothing at all.”

When the Bey of Constantina heard of this letter, he sent us also a letter, and addressed us after this manner:—“It is necessary that you give me the town, and what is in the citadel. Take care that you do not surrender the city to the French. If you are afraid of the French, hoist the English flag. But, for myself, I cannot defend you in anything.”

The people of the city were in great inquietude; they were afraid of the Bey of Constantina, as well as of the French. One day the people assembled in the great mosque, and held a council upon their actual state, in order to decide in what manner they could save themselves from their enemies. And they agreed that they should give up the city to the French.

They accordingly sent letters to the French consul at Tunis, and thus advised him:—“It is necessary, if you have the intention to take Bona and its people, to come to us immediately. If you have no such design, inform us, that we may take some measures for our own state and security against our enemy; for there is neither power nor force left with us.” Then the consul of Tunis sent us a letter, and said:—“It is necessary that you govern the city, and guard it night and day, and that you do your uttermost until the French troops come to you; thus you will become very precious to the French, and you will not have fear of anything.”

We remained up night and day, and guarded ourselves and our country, until this affair reached the Bey of

Constantina. He got into great rage and fury with us, and sent against us an immense force! The name of the chief of the army was Alhaj'-Ammar-Ben-Zak-u-Watah. When he arrived, he encamped near the city, and pitched his tents, and then sent a letter to us, and addressed us as follows:—"It is absolutely necessary that you surrender to me the city. I will enter it, and you shall remain in security and have fear of nothing. If you refuse this demand, I will engage you and make a great war against you. As to you yourselves, your sons, your wives—By God! I will spoil you of all your riches, and render your city like ploughed ground, laying it in ruined heaps."

After this we shut all the gates of the city. We answered him by the messenger he sent to us, and thus spoke to him:—"We will not listen to this proposition, nor receive it from you, for we are not satisfied with it. And thou! if thou desirest to make war and fight with us, we will make war with thee, and fight thee more than thou thyself canst fight us. We will not surrender to thee the city, until all of us are slain, and there be not one remaining. Then, enter the city, and seize its riches and our wives. But don't believe that we fear thee or thy lord, the Bey of Constantina. We have with us our God; we watch night and day; we don't sleep; we don't neglect ourselves; do thy worst!"

Now, afterwards, on a certain day, he advanced towards us, bringing with him a cannon and troops, and commenced to fight us, and we returned his attack, from the morning until the *Asar*, (three o'clock in the afternoon:) many of the enemy were killed. Then he removed a little from us, and remained there about five days. After that he renewed the attack, and in this way continued always near us. And then came famine to us, until we ate herbs and grass! The man who went out of the city

to bring the herbs was seized by the enemy, and had his head cut off. After this, Ibrahim Bey came to us from Tunis by sea.

We rejoiced exceedingly at his arrival ; we lodged him in a house, and he remained in it half a month. Then, one day, he left that house, and continued to go in the streets till he arrived at a gate of the city, then went out and ascended to the citadel. He entered the citadel through its gates, and found in it some people who were guarding it. He said to them,—“Shut the doors, and I will remain with you here.” They replied,—“Yes, yes.” After having entered the citadel, he hoisted a red flag and fired a cannon. And the people of the city could not understand this, and sent to him to know what he wanted. “What do you desire, and what are you doing?” they demanded. He replied,—“I remain here; I will never go out from this place.”

There were, at this time, some Christians and some of the troops of the citadel with him. After that, a French general, who had arrived, ascended to him with French troops, and the new troops who were in the city, all armed and carrying axes. Their intention was to demolish the fortress. When they arrived near the citadel, the new troops leaped on the walls of the citadel. Ibrahim Bey, who was within the citadel with some Turks, fired some muskets against these assaulting troops, until they returned like fugitives into the city.

Ibrahim Bey addressed to us letters, saying,—“You must drive out the Christians from the city ; otherwise, I will demolish it with cannons and bombs.” He continued to fire guns upon us at intervals. When the Christians heard this firing, they sent to the chiefs of the city, and said to them,—“We must leave the city ; we will not remain any more in it.” The authorities of Bona answered,—“You know what is convenient for yourselves.”

At last the city took fire, and commotions arose between the new troops and the countrymen,* who had brought corn to sell. There was firing in the heart of the city. The Christians and the new troops fled to the port and embarked in ships. There were some of the Christians killed, some of the new troops, and of the Mussulmans a great many. When they had embarked, they continued to fire balls at us from the sea. They threw against us about three hundred cannon-balls† or more. Afterwards they weighed anchor, and went out of the reach of the guns of the citadel.

We collected the dead from every place, and carried them to the cemetery, where we buried them. We passed this night in great inquietude, fearing the French, Ibrahim Bey in the citadel, and also the Bey of Constantina.‡ We became like feathers thrown upon the earth, when the wind scatters them in every place. When God brought the morning, all of us went to the great mosque, and held a council upon our state and security. We agreed, "That we would go to the vessel of the French commander, and excuse ourselves, and ask him to permit us to go with him to Algiers, that we might be introduced to the general in command, who should address a letter for us to the King of the French." This was our decision. Afterwards we sent three Mussulmans to carry our resolutions to the commander, who was still in the port.

When they met him, they had with him a long conversation, saying, "We have not made this commotion,

* Those countrymen were the Arabs, there being no other class of people who bring corn from the interior of the country to Bona. There are the country people, as in all countries, but they chiefly attend to gardens and olives, not corn.

† The Moors are great counters, but none err so much in counting.

‡ It is one of the most horrible miseries of people in anarchy to have danger coming from *every side*, and especially from their own selves, in the heart of what might be called their centre of security.

but the cause of it is only Ibrahim Bey, and besides him the peasants or Arabs. Now we desire to go with you to Algiers. We will speak with the General for ourselves." He listened to us, and answered thus: "It is necessary that you write letters, and that you all agree on *one point*. You shall then go with me; and in this manner you will find only prosperity and peace. The King of the French is a kind man, and will receive your proposals, and will do nothing to you but what will promote your happiness."

Afterwards, we wrote letters to the General of Algiers. We then went with them to Algiers in the French vessels. When we arrived at Algiers, the General received us, and we gave him the letters, and remained with him, having a long conversation. He replied to us, "I will write to the King in your behalf, excusing you, and he will only treat you well."

We remained, expecting the reply of the King, about four months. When the answer arrived from France, we brought it back to Bona, and found Ibrahim Bey still in the citadel. There came with us a Captain Yousuf, who is now here, made a Bey. He ascended the citadel and met Ibrahim Bey, and had with him a long conversation. Afterwards Captain Yousuf returned to Algiers. We remained guarding the city night and day.

There was a man from the Kabails residing with us in the city, who left it, and went to the army of the Bey of Constantina; and spoke to the General thus: "I, if it be the will of God, will enable you to enter the city." The chief answered him: "If thou openest the city to me, then I shall treat thee with great generosity, and thou shalt be much endeared to me and my glorious sovereign. Thou shalt have what thou desirest."

But we combated with the enemy every night and

every day. Afterwards, this Kabailite having taken some troops from the Bey of Constantina, came with them during the night towards the sea-shore, and entered a house near the gate of the citadel. This house was empty and in ruins, but we did not know whether the house was inhabited or not. In this way the troops entered into the city, crying, "Oh people of the city! you are in security; fear nothing from us. Our business is with Ibrahim Bey, not you." All the inhabitants were in their houses, and much afraid.

When day arrived, the people went out from their houses, and found the streets full of the troops of Haj Ahmed Bey. We were greatly afraid of them. But Ibrahim Bey had always the possession of the citadel. We remained in this state about twenty days, until a steam-boat arrived in the port with a schooner.

When Ibrahim Bey saw the ships in the sea, he was terrified, and fled during the night from the citadel. The Christians ascended to the citadel during the night also. When they went up, the Christians that were *within* the citadel hoisted the French flag, and fired a cannon. The people of the city understood nothing of this affair. When the chief of the army of the Bey of Constantina heard it, he published an order to his troops and to the people of the city, that they should leave Bona, and abandon it empty; and that whosoever should remain he would cut off his head, and confiscate his property.

All men were in great inquietude; they knew not what would happen to them. The whole city went out to the army from fear, and every one abandoned his houses, possessions, and riches. When they went out, the troops entered and broke open the doors of the houses, and seized the riches of the people, their dresses, and all their effects. They put fire in the centre of the city, and abandoned it.

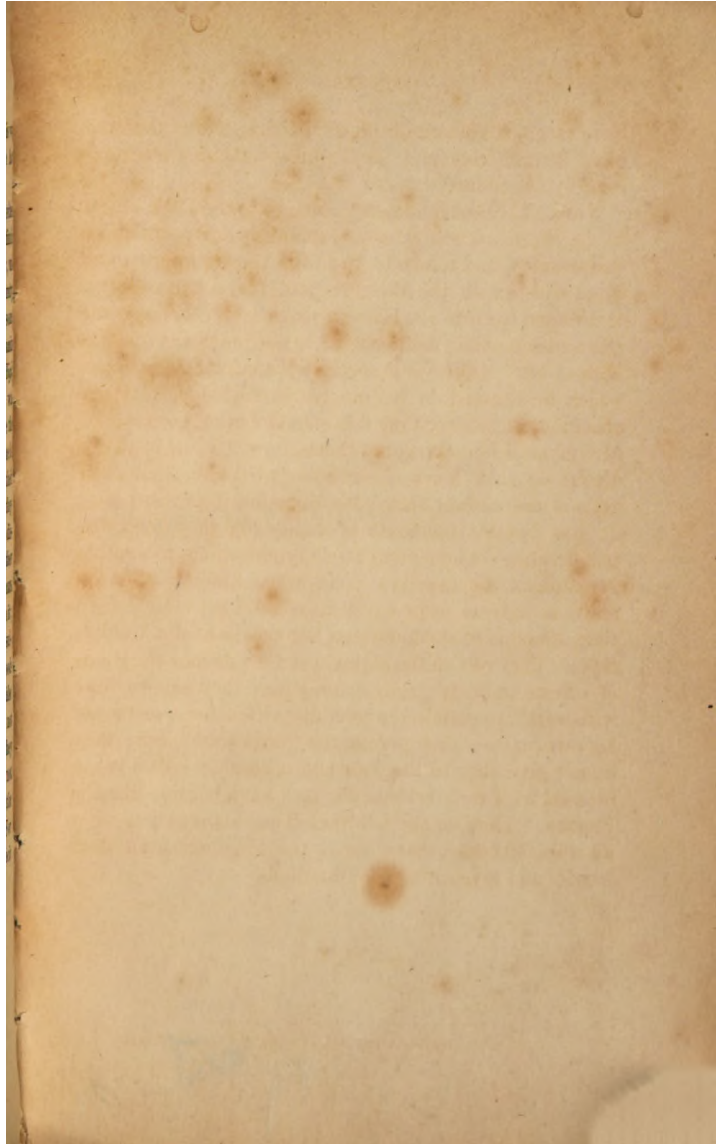
Afterwards the chief of the army commanded us to go with him to Constantina; all men wept a great weeping with the children and the women! The men, like a drove of sheep, went on foot carrying their little ones on their backs until the blood poured out from their feet, and wept night and day all the way to Constantina. *They were like the Jews.* The people of Constantina reviling them thus: "Oh you subjects of the French! Oh you *sons* of the French!" They were naked and without food, so that they demanded alms of the people. The men were treated like dogs. Afterwards they began to flee from Constantina one after another. Those who arrived safe at Bona were like a man *born again*. If the Bey of Constantina discovered any one fleeing and caught him, he stripped him naked, and took all that he had, and abandoned him to hunger and wretchedness, and he wandered about Constantina like a dog. Those whom the Arabs caught fleeing in the way to Bona, they seized, and stripped of all they had; and if one, perchance, arrived at Bona, he was full of joy, and settled there, and worked for his wife and family. If this man had in Bona some houses or gardens, or shops, or magazines, he let them or sold them, and lived better than formerly. But those who had nothing could not live. If these possessions were in the power of the French, or if the French *had demolished them*,* he remained without money. All men are now like bees, whose queen is dead, and fly about without knowledge and counsel; they enter in and go out of their hives without design, neither making honey nor wax. All men are like the rendezvous of a fair, the town is full of people. Some

* One of the first acts of a government, if they would colonise a conquered country with the least intention of succeeding, is, *to respect property*, which I am sorry the French employés of Algiers and Bona have not always done. Many houses, and even mosques, were demolished for the sake of improving the streets of the city.

have received kindness from the French, and in this way have become rich and great ; others the French have entirely abandoned.

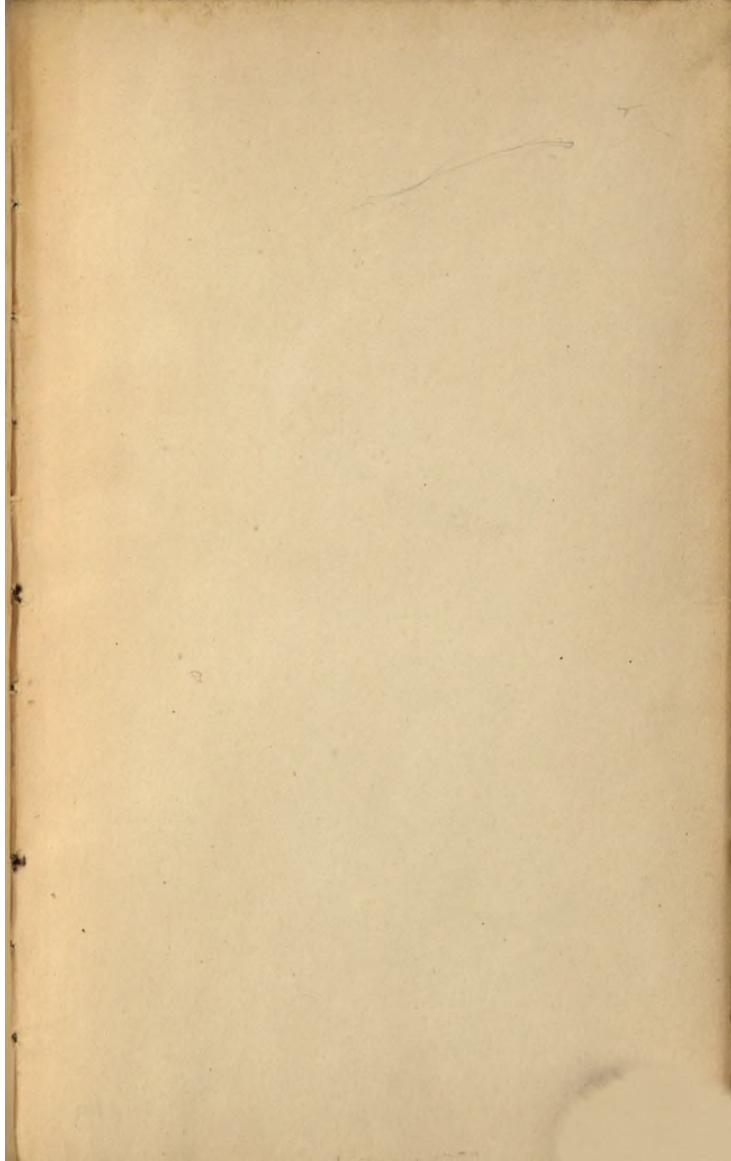
Now, all are like madmen. Some go to the East, others to the West. These who go to the Eastern parts find a bad country, and return to go to the Western parts ; and those who go to the Western parts find a bad country, and return to go to the Eastern parts. Of all men, some rise and some fall ; neither wisdom nor judgment remains with them. *All this is the action of God, the Most High,* which he decreed in his ancient knowledge. It was absolutely necessary that this should arrive, because the Mussulmans had corrupted themselves. Their justice is distorted ; they don't observe their religion ; all their actions are sinful ; they have abandoned prayer ; they do not fast in the month of Ramadan ; they don't distribute alms ; when you entrust your secrets to another Mussulman, he deceives you ; when the Mussulmans make an agreement or covenant, they don't maintain it ; there remains to them nothing but the *name* of a Mussulman. They rob on the highways ; they devour the goods of others unjustly ; they drink wine ; they suborn false witnesses ; the adulterer cohabits with other women not his own wives ; they permit the things prohibited ; they do not give alms to the poor and miserable. God is not pleased with their actions, for they have become like the Pagans. They do not follow God nor his prophet. For all this God has taken away the kingdom from their hands, and given it to the Christians.

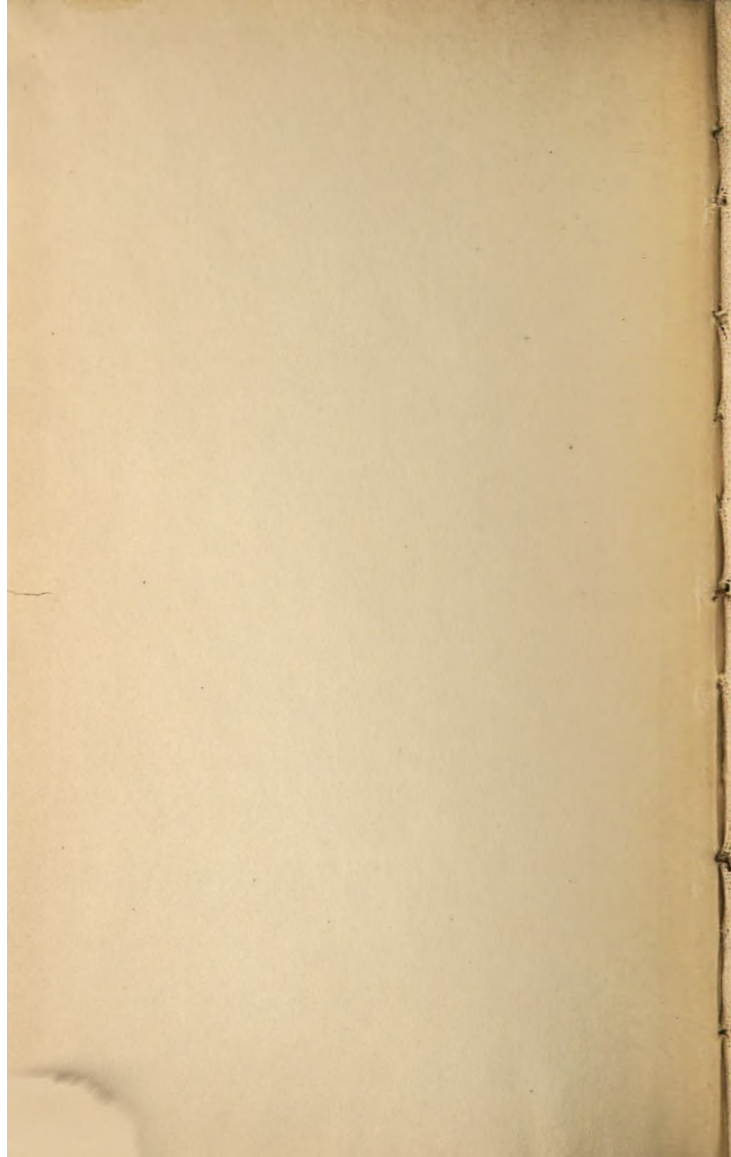
THE END.

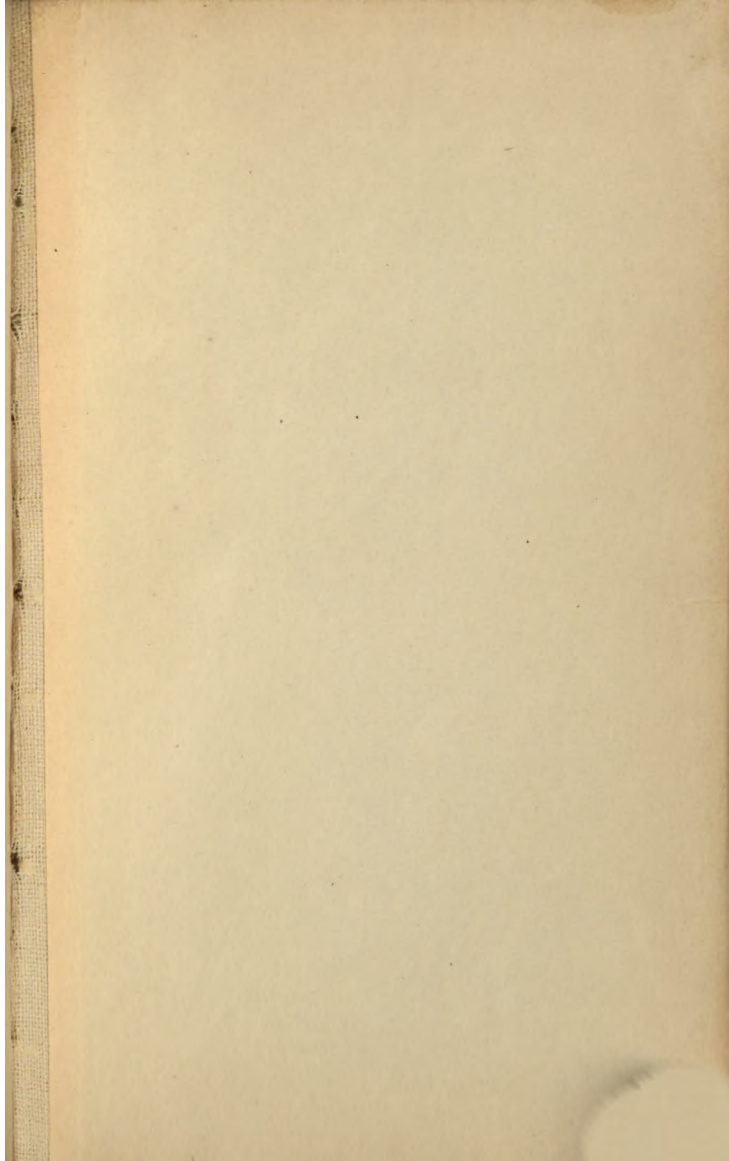


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